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A HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND

FROM THE FIRST

INVASION BY THE ROMANS

BY

JOHN LINGARD, D.D.

VOLUME VIII.

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HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

ELIZABETH.

CAPTURE, IMPRISONMENT, AND RESIGNATION OF MARY STUART—SHE SEEKS AN ASYLUM IN ENGLAND—CONFERENCES AT YORK AND WESTMINSTER—PROJECT OF MARRIAGE BETWEEN MARY AND THE DUKE OF NORFOLK—HE IS IMPRISONED—REBELLION IN THE NORTH—BULL OF EXCOMMUNICATION AND DEPOSITION AGAINST THE QUEEN—TROUBLES IN THE NETHERLANDS—AND IN FRANCE.

CHAP. I.

WHOEVER is conversant with the history of this period, must have observed that, in the judgment of most of the Scottish lords, self-interest was paramount to every other consideration. Hence their conduct perpetually varied with the varying course of events: every new prospect of gain or aggrandizement suggested new counsels and new crimes, and the most solemn engage

CHAP. I.

ments were both contracted and violated with equal precipitancy. We have seen the same individuals binding themselves by their duty to the eternal God, first to prevent the marriage of Darnley with their queen, then to raise that nobleman to the throne; and lastly, to procure his assassination. The reader will not be surprised, if he now beholds them entering on a fourth association, to punish the murderer whose deed they had promised "to reckon as their "own," and then to transfer the sovereign authority from the queen to a regent of their own creation.

Association to oppose Bothwell.

Of the lords who, though not in the secret of the murder, had been induced, by fear or interest, to subscribe the bond in favour of Bothwell's marriage, many were at the very time ashamed of their own conduct. In such a state of mind, they viewed his subsequent seizure of the royal person with feelings of suspicion and resentment. Meetings were held; projects of opposition were suggested; and inquiry was made what part the queen of England would take in the approaching contest.[1] The question awakened in her ministers fresh hopes of effecting that which the war of the reformation had failed to accomplish. But Elizabeth checked their eagerness: she refused to interfere with an armed force; and merely signified her assent

[1] By Kirkaldy of Grange, apud Chalmers, ii. 236, note *a*.

that the earl of Bedford might repair to Berwick, and "comfort" the discontented lords. Cecil, however, though he dared not give any express assurance of support, acquainted them with his opinion, that the nobility of Scotland, but particularly those who had previously bound themselves to Bothwell, must immediately take up arms, if they wished to avoid the infamy of being considered accomplices in his guilt.[2]

It has been assumed by some writers that, when Morton and Maitland joined with Bothwell in plotting the death of Darnley, they had two other objects in view, which they carefully concealed from their colleague; the dethronement of Mary, and the subsequent elevation of Murray to the regency. But philosophical historians are apt to attribute to the foresight of politicians those counsels which are, in reality, suggested by the passing events of the day. The dissension between Mary and her husband had produced suspicion; by her precipitate marriage that suspicion was ripened into conviction; and the associates of Bothwell saw, that unless they joined his opponents, they must submit to share his infamy, perhaps his punishment. The earls of Morton, Marr, and Athol, the lords Home, Semple, and Lindsay, the lairds of Tullibardine and Grange, met at Stirling, and were joined by Montrose, Glencairn, Ruthven, and Sinclair.

[2] Chalmers, ii. 235, note *a*. Robertson, i. App. No. xx.

CHAP. I.

June 11. 1567.

Their plan to surprise Bothwell and the queen at Borthwick, was defeated by a rapid flight to Dunbar: but they entered Edinburgh; and by proclamation charged the earl with the murder of Darnley, the treasonable seizure and marriage of the queen, and an intention of gaining possession of the prince, that he might murder the heir apparent, as he had already murdered his father.[3]

Mary surrendered to the confederates. June 15.

In four days Bothwell ventured with his friends to meet the more numerous and well appointed force of his enemies on Carberry hill, at no great distance from Edinburgh. From an early hour in the morning till nine at night, the two armies faced each other. It was in vain that Le Croc employed his authority and eloquence to reconcile the parties. The queen offered a full pardon to the confederates, on condition that they should disband their forces: they required of her to come over to the nobility, and leave Bothwell to suffer the punishment of his crime. He offered to fight singly with Morton, or any one of his accusers. The challenge was accepted first by

[3] Anderson, i. 128—134. It appears from the letter of Beton, that Bothwell escaped from Borthwick in the morning, before the arrival of the lords; that Mary remained there all the day, with about half a dozen servants: and that at night she rode away in male attire, was received at a short distance by Bothwell, and conveyed by him to Dunbar. Laing, ii, 109. This fact proves incontestably, that the queen was unwilling to separate from Bothwell; whether her reluctance arose from attachment, or from the causes, which in a few pages she will assign.

Tullibardine, afterwards by Lindsay: but for reasons, with which we are unacquainted, no combat followed. At length it was agreed that he should retire without molestation; that the queen should return to her capital, and that the associated lords should pay to her that honour and obedience which was due to the sovereign. She gave her hand to Kirkaldy of Grange, and was by him conducted to the army of his colleagues; in whose name Morton, bending his knee, said, "This, madam, is the place where "you ought to be: and we will honour, serve, "and obey you as ever the nobility of this realm "did any of your progenitors." The agreement was mutually ratified; and the army returned towards Edinburgh.[4]

She is imprisoned in Lochlevin.

An hour did not elapse before Mary learned that she was a captive in the hands of unfeeling adversaries. At her entrance into the city, she was met by a mob in the highest state of excitement: her ears were assailed with reproaches and imprecations: and before her eyes was waved a banner, representing the dead corpse of her late husband, and the prince her son on his

[4] Goodall, ii. 145. 164. Laing, ii. 116. This connivance at the escape of Bothwell, appears to confirm the opinion, that the confederate lords chiefly aimed at the deposition of Mary, and the establishment of a regency. Had they taken possession of him, though they might not have so easily deprived the queen of her crown, they could have immediately effected what they professed to have in view, the punishment of the murder, and the dissolution of the marriage.

CHAP. I.

knees exclaiming, "Revenge my cause, O Lord." She expected to proceed to the palace; but was conducted to the house of the provost; and locked up in a chamber, with orders that no person, not even her maids, should have access
June 16. to her. During the two-and-twenty hours that she was confined in this solitary prison, the unhappy queen abandoned herself to the terrors which her situation inspired. From the street she was repeatedly seen at the window, almost in a state of nudity; and was often heard to call on the citizens, conjuring them to arm and deliver their sovereign from the cruelty of traitors. About nine the next evening she was conducted to Holyrood-house: and, after a respite of an hour, was conveyed by a body of four hundred armed men out of the capital. Athol rode on one side of the captive, Morton on the other: and at some distance they delivered her to the custody of Lindsay and Ruthven, by whom she was led to the castle of Lochlevin, the residence of William Douglas, uterine brother of Murray, and heir presumptive to Morton.[5]

[5] Keith, 403. "Sche came yesterday to ane windo of hir chal-
" mer, that lukkit on the hiegait, and cryit forth on the pepill,
" quhow sche was haldin in prison, and keepit be hir awin sub-
" jects, quha had betrayit hir. Sche came to the said windo sun-
" drie tymes in sa miserable a stait, hir hairs hangand about hir
" loggs, and hir breest, yea the maist pairt of all her bodie, fra the
" waist up, bair and discoverit, that na man could luk upon hir bot
" sche movit him to pitie and compassion. For my ain part I was
" satisfeit to heir of it, and meight not suffer to see it." Beton's

CHAP. I.

Elizabeth had been informed of this extraordinary revolution by an envoy from the insurgents, whom she received with the strongest expressions of displeasure. The insult offered to the Scottish queen was, she contended, common to every crowned head; it resulted from the doctrines of Knox, which she had so often condemned: it required severe and immediate punishment, that subjects might learn to restrain their unhallowed hands from the anointed persons of their sovereigns. But while she laboured with sincerity in favour of Mary, her efforts were defeated through the address and wiles of her secretary. She sent Throckmorton to Scotland, with instructions to require, from the lords, that they should liberate their queen; from Mary, that she should forgive the offence of her subjects, and concur in the punishment of the murderers; from both, that the young prince should be sent to England, as the only place where his life would be in safety. But Throckmorton was the agent of Cecil, as well as of his sovereign. He demanded the liberation

Resigns her crown.

June 30.

letter of the 17th. Laing, ii. 117. Mary accused Maitland and Kirkaldy as the cause of her misfortunes. Randolph afterwards says to them: "You two were the chief occasions of the calamities, "as she hath said, that she is fallen into. You, lord of Liddington, "by your persuasion and counsel to apprehend her, to imprison her, "yea, to have taken presently the life from her: and you, lord of "Grange, by your solicitation, travel and labour to bring in others "to allow thereof, and to put in execution that, which by the other, "you, lord of Liddington, was devised." Strype, ii. App. 20.

CHAP. I.

of the Scottish queen: yet consented to wait for an answer, till all the lords should be assembled at Edinburgh: he asked permission to visit Mary, but acquiesced in a refusal, when he learned that a similar request had been refused to the French ambassador.[6] While letters passed slowly between him and Elizabeth, the lords of the secret council, encouraged by the approbation of the kirk, proceeded with expedition and energy. Three instruments were devised, by one of which the queen was made to resign the crown in favour of her son; by the second, Murray was appointed regent during the minority of the prince; and by the third, certain noblemen were named to supply the place of Murray during his absence, and in the event of his death. These writings were intrusted to the
July 24. lord Lindsay, the keeper of Mary, and the most stern and unfeeling of the saints: but with him was sent Robert Melville, with letters both from Throckmorton, and from some of the conspirators, who pretended to be her secret friends, advising her to consent without hesitation, because no deed, executed under such circumstances, could be considered binding in law. She had scarcely time to read the letters, when Lindsay entered, threw the instruments on the table, and bade her either sign them, or prepare

[6] The history of Throckmorton's negociation may be collected from the documents in Robertson, I. N°. xxi. and Keith, 411—430. Laing, ii. 124—129.

CHAP. I.

to die as the assassin of her husband. The unhappy queen burst into tears: then hastily recovering herself, took up the pen, and subscribed her name without looking at the contents.[7]

Is visited by Murray, July 20.

Within five days the infant prince (he was in his thirteenth month) was anointed and crowned,[8] and Murray, who had already left France, hastened to Edinburgh. Before, however, he would assume the regency, he resolved to visit the royal captive in the castle of Lochlevin. At the news of his arrival a gleam of hope shot across the mind of the unfortunate queen. Murray was her favourite brother. He owed to her his wealth, his honours, and his influence. She had formerly pardoned his treason and ingratitude, and restored him to the first place in her council. Mary hastened to meet him, and, to her surprise, found him cold, formal and reserved: her tears, caresses, and entreaties proved fruitless: she could not draw from him

Aug. 15.

[7] Keith, 430—434. Ils m'ont menassé de me tuer, si je ne signoys. Anderson, iv. 31. par. ii. 86. Some say, that Ruthven accompanied Lindsay. Both had been appointed keepers of the queen; but Ruthven was removed, (July 14.) on suspicion, that he had supplied her with intelligence. (Rob. N°. xxi.) He was employed the whole of July 24th, at Edinburgh. Keith, 425, 426.

[8] Keith, 437—439. Lesley says of this coronation, "of one "hundred earles, bishoppes, and lordes, and more, that have voice "in parliament, ther wer no more present, but fower earles only; "ye had farther six lordes, who wer such as had laied their violent "hands upon their quene afore, and two or three abbots and "priors." Anderson, i. 44.

CHAP. I.

one consoling expression: and when they parted, she knew not whether to consider him as a friend or a foe. After supper they met again; but Murray now assumed a sterner tone. He loaded his afflicted sister with reproaches, bade her repent and be patient, and dropped some distant hints of the bar and the scaffold. It was an hour after midnight when he left her with this ominous remark, that "she had nothing to "hope for but God's mercy; let her seek that "as her chief refuge." In the morning followed a third interview, in which the earl appeared a very different man. He affected to feel pity for her misfortunes, and expressed a wish to screen her from the vengeance of her enemies. To Mary, who had passed a sleepless night in anguish and terror, his softened and consoling manner made him appear as an angel from heaven. She embraced him, kissed him, conjured him to assume the regency, that he might preserve her life and that of her son. To draw from her this request had been the sole object of his visit. He assented, after several refusals: but, at parting, bade her recollect that he was only one man: it was useless for him to ensure her safety, unless she deserved it. If she should attempt to escape, or should raise disturbance against the government, it would not be in his power to screen her from punishment.[9] Two days

[9] Throckmorton's letter of the 20th of August, in Keith, 444—448. From whom Throckmorton received the account, we know

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after his return from Edinburgh, he was proclaimed regent; and ever afterwards, in justification of his own conduct, alleged to foreign powers, that his acceptance of the office was extorted from him by the tears and prayers of Mary in her prison at Lochlevin.[10] Aug. 22.

The reader will recollect that one of the avowed objects of the associated lords, was to free the queen from the thraldom of Bothwell: the moment she came into their hands, they immured her in a prison, and in a few days deprived her of her crown. In vindication of their conduct, they alleged, that they had offered to obey her as their sovereign, provided she would abandon Bothwell, and consent that he should suffer punishment as the chief murderer of Darnley.[11] On her refusal they had placed her under confinement, with the hope that soli- Her letters first brought forward.

not. He tells the queen, that Murray informed him, that he had also required his sister to desist from her inordinate affection for Bothwell, and her resentment against the lords, 447.

[10] See especially his proclamation of August 22, "for obedience "thairof he hes acceptid and ressavit the charge." Keith, 454. Mary had maintained liberty of conscience for all persons, as far as the fanaticism of the preachers would permit; but Murray entered on the regency by taking the following oath: "and out of this "realme of Scotland and impyre thairof I sall be cairful to ruite "out all hereticks and enemies to the trew worschip of God, that "sall be convict be the trew kirk of God of the forsaid crimes." Ibid. 453.

[11] "To punish the king's murder *chiefly* in my lord Bothwell." Laing, i. 104. This proposal was made to her by Maitland, an accomplice. It would seem that Bothwell was to be punished, and his accomplices were to escape.

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tude and reflection would wean her from that guilty passion, which she had so long indulged: but her obstinacy seemed to increase: it endangered the safety of the prince, of the lords, and of the state: it reduced them to the painful necessity of depriving her of the sovereign authority, and of transferring it to her son. Mary replied that these were mere pretexts: she had offered to convene the three estates, to submit to them the two questions of the validity of her marriage and the punishment of the murderers, and to abide by their determination, whatever it might be. To such a proposal no reasonable man could object: but her adversaries had required her assent to demands the most unjust and unnatural. It could not be expected that a queen, in her situation (she knew herself to be pregnant) should disown her husband, and by that act bastardize her child, and forfeit her honour, at the sole will of an armed faction.[12]

Some months later it was deemed advisable to throw off the mask. A silver casket, which Mary had inherited from her first husband Francis, and which she is said to have given to
June 20. Bothwell, had come into the possession of the

[12] Throckmorton's letter of July 18, in Robertson, i. App. xxi. The plan of a convention of the estates, which he was ordered to propose to the lords, agreed with that which Mary had already suggested. See it in Keith, 416.

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earl of Morton.[13] In it, if we may believe him, were found several papers in the hand writing of the queen, which proved her to have been an accomplice in the crime. The importance of the discovery was secretly communicated to the chiefs of the party, and to the queen of England: but no particulars were divulged before the month of December, when a resolution was taken to accuse Mary of adultery and murder, to maintain that she had suffered herself to be seduced by Bothwell, and afterwards had consented to the death of her husband, that she might be able to marry her paramour; and to declare that her captivity and destitution were Dec. 4. "in her own default; in so far as by divers her "privy letters, written and subscribed with her "own hand, and sent by her to James, earl "Bothwell, and by her ungodly and dishonour-"able proceeding in a private marriage, sud-

[13] There is something to excite suspicion in the history of this casket. It was said to be taken upon the person of Dalgleish, a servant of Bothwell, on the 20th. On the 26th he was examined before Morton, Athol, the protector of Maitland, and two others. No question was asked, no mention was made of the casket. It is replied, that he was examined about the murder only. But when a man was put to the torture to make him confess, every question was asked which could bear upon the charge; and, as the letters were of such importance, we must believe, that he was at one time or other examined on that head. What became of the examination? To prove the authenticity of the letters at the conferences, Morton took his oath that he received them from Dalgleish. I think that, if it had been prudent to produce the examination of Dalgleish, such a document would have proved more satisfactory.

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" denly and improvisedly thereafter, it was most " certain that she was privy, art and part, and " of the actual devise anddeed of the murder of " the king her lawful husband." This act of the council, but with some alterations, was adopted by the parliament: and to it was added a second of forfeiture against Bothwell, enumerating among his other offences, the violence which he had undutifully employed to compel his sovereign to marry him. It seems not to have occurred to the framers of these acts, that they appear to stand in opposition to each other. If Mary's letters were genuine, if she was " swa " blindlie affectionate to the private appetyte of " that tyrane," neither her conveyance to Dunbar, nor her subsequent marriage, could have been the effect of compulsion, but must have proceeded from her own will and consent.[14]

Dec. 10.

Mary attempts to escape.

The Scottish queen was still confined in the towers of Lochlevin, under the jealous eye of the lady Douglas, mother to the regent, and formerly mistress to James V. It was in vain that, to recover her liberty, she made different offers to her brother and the council. They had resolved that she should never leave her prison alive; and, if we may believe her own assertion, had seriously listened to several proposals for the shortening of her days. But she possessed

[14] See the two documents in Goodall, ii. 62—69, and on the variations between the act of council, and the act of parliament, note (P).

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resources beyond the control of her enemies; and her beauty, her manner, and her misfortunes, won her an invaluable partisan in George Douglas, the brother of the regent. By previous concert with Beton, a trusty servant of the queen, who lurked in the nearest villages, he introduced a laundress at an early hour into the bed-chamber of Mary, who exchanged clothes with the woman, and carrying out a basket of linen, took her seat in the boat. She had almost reached the opposite bank, when, to secure her muffler from the rudeness of one of the rowers, she raised her arm to her face, and a voice immediately exclaimed, "That is not the hand of "a washerwoman." She was recognised, and conveyed back to Lochlevin; George fled from the resentment of his relatives, and left the task of liberating the queen to an unsuspected associate, an orphan boy of the age of sixteen, known by the name of little Douglas.[15]

1568. March 25.

Five weeks elapsed before he found an opportunity of making the attempt. One evening, while the lady Douglas sate at supper, having adroitly drawn the keys from the table, he called the queen, and Kennedy, one of her maids, led them out of the castle, locked the door after them, and threw the keys into the lake. A boat had been prepared: the preconcerted signal was made: and George Douglas and Beton received

She succeeds.

May 2.

[15] Drury's letter of 3d of April, in Keith, 469.

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the fugitives on the beach. Mary slept that night at Niddry, a house belonging to Lord Seton: the next morning she rode in safety to the castle of Hamilton, and revoked the resignation of the crown which she had made in her prison at Lochlevin.[16]

At this intelligence, the royalists crowded round their sovereign: nine earls, nine bishops, and eighteen lords offered her their congratulations and services: and the queen became acquainted, for the first time according to her advocates, with the real history of the murder of Darnley, and of the guilt of Bothwell.[17] To her brother the regent, who chanced at that moment to be in Glasgow, she made repeated offers, of settling every cause of dissension in a free parliament, and of delivering up to justice every person whom he should accuse of the murder, provided he would do the same by those whom she might also accuse.[18] Morton and Maitland were alarmed; they imprisoned her messengers and proclaimed her adherents traitors. Mary
May 13. was on her road to the castle of Dumbarton, when Murray, with a small but disciplined force, appeared on an eminence called Langside. At the sight, her followers, consulting their loyalty rather than prudence, rode in confusion to charge the rebels: they were received with

[16] Anderson, iv. par. ii. 52, 87. Keith, 471. Jebb, ii. 230.
[17] Anderson, iv. par. ii. 82. [18] Anderson, iv. 31, 32.

coolness and intrepidity: and, after a sharp contest, turned their backs and fled. From the field of battle, the disconsolate queen rode to the abbey of Dundrennan, a distance of sixty miles, in the course of the same day. Her adversaries followed in every direction: but she eluded their pursuit; resumed her flight the next evening, and on the following morning, after a hasty repast, expressed her determination to seek an asylum in the court of her good sister the queen of England. Her best friends remonstrated: the archbishop of St. Andrew's conjured her on his knees to change her resolution; but Mary trusted to the assurances which she had received: commissioned Beton to take back to Elizabeth a diamond ring, the pledge which that princess had given her of affection and support; and, crossing the Solway frith in a fishing boat, landed with a small retinue in the harbour of Workington, whence she proceeded through Cockermouth to Carlisle.[19]

And flees into England.

May 16.

During these transactions it was difficult for an ordinary observer to unravel the intricate policy of the English cabinet. Elizabeth publicly professed herself the friend of the Scottish queen, declared to foreign princes that she would restore her to her throne, forbade her ambassador to assist at the coronation of the prince, refused to Murray the title of regent,

Plans of the English cabinet.

[19] Anderson, iv. 3. 33. Keith, 477—483. Jebb, ii. 268.

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and demanded, in a tone of authority, the liberation of Mary. But, on the other hand, her ministers were intimately leagued with the enemies of that princess; they dissuaded their sovereign from appealing to arms, on the pretence that such an appeal would be the death-warrant of the royal captive; they imparted advice and information to Murray and his council; and they encouraged him in the persuasion that his proceedings were in reality approved by the English queen.[20]

Mary's unexpected arrival in England, had opened new prospects to Cecil and his associates. They rejoiced that the prey which they had hunted for years, had at last voluntarily thrown herself into the toils; but they were perplexed to reconcile their designs against the royal fugitive with the appearance of decency and justice. After repeated consultations, it was concluded, that to allow her to proceed to any foreign court, or to solicit aid of any foreign prince, would be to risk all the advantages which had been obtained by the treaty of Leith: that, if it were advisable to replace the sceptre in her hands, it ought to be by the influence of Elizabeth alone, and under restrictions which

[20] "Although," says Murray to Cecil, "the quene's majestie, your "mistress, outwardlie seam not altogether to allow the present state "heir, yet doubt I not bot her heines in hart lykis it well aneuch. "I have had infallible experience of your gude will in especial." Haynes, 462.

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would leave her only a nominal authority: but that to detain her in captivity for life, would be the most conducive both to the security of their sovereign, and to the interests of their religion.[21] The accomplishment of this object was intrusted to the dark and intriguing mind of Cecil. Mary was at first assured that Elizabeth would vindicate the common cause of sovereigns, and reinstate her in her former authority, upon condition that she would be satisfied with the aid of her good sister, and reject that of France or Spain, or any other power.[22] Next it was intimated to her, that the English queen had determined to essay the influence of advice and authority, before she would have recourse to arms and bloodshed: lastly, a hint was given that, in order to justify the interposition of Elizabeth, it was desirable that the Scottish queen should clear herself from the odious crimes with which she had been charged by her enemies.

Mary, immediately after her arrival, had demanded permission to visit Elizabeth, that she

[21] Anderson, iv. 34—44.

[22] The first message to Mary was to obtain from her a promise not to solicit or receive any aid from France: "which if she will do, "she shall then be assured that we will have the principal regard "to her state, so as her subjects may be reduced to acknowledge "their duties without shedding of blood, or trouble of her realm; "and, if they will not yield to reason by treaty or persuasion, we "will give to her such aid as shall be requisite to compel them." Instructions to Leighton, Anderson, iv. 27. Mary assented: but could never attain the promised aid.

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might lay before her the wrongs which she had suffered, and explain to her the deceit, the calumnies and the crimes of her adversaries. But a personal interview might have proved dangerous, not only to Murray and his party, but to their friends in the English cabinet. Cecil suggested to his mistress, that, as a maiden queen, she could not in decency admit into her presence a woman charged with adultery and murder. Let her first call on Mary to disprove the accusations of her opponents before a board of English commissioners. She had a right to require it: for history shewed that the Scottish was subject to the English crown: and that all controversies between the people and the king or queen of Scotland ought to be decided in the court of their superior lord. She had now an opportunity of exercising that right: and it would prove dishonourable to her, if she omitted to avail herself of it.[23] He found it more easy to persuade Elizabeth than Mary. The latter objected to every thing in the shape of a trial. It would consume time, of which every moment was to her of importance; because delay served to consolidate the usurped authority of the regent, and by disappointing the hopes, to diminish the number of her adherents. Then from whom did the proposal originate? From one who had always proved her bitterest enemy. Who would

[23] Anderson, iv. 26. 37. 103. 105.

name the commissioners, and superintend the proceedings? A party, that from the beginning of her reign, had constantly given advice and support to her rebels. And who was to be her judge? She could acknowledge none. She was an independent queen; and would never submit to place the crown of Scotland at the foot of a foreign power. She therefore requested permission to return again into Scotland, or to pass through England to France. The demand was reasonable; but it accorded not with the views of the council, and was at first eluded, and afterwards refused.[24]

Mary's complaints.

This crooked policy which gradually extinguished all her hopes, wrung from Mary expostulations, written with the dignity of a queen, and the spirit of an innocent and injured woman. She observed that, if she had come into England, it was in consequence of the assurances which she had received during her confinement in Lochlevin; and that if Elizabeth now repented of her promises, the least she could do was to allow the princess whom she had deceived, to seek for aid in other courts. That the English queen had received into her presence the bastard Murray, notwithstanding all the crimes of

[24] Laing has converted Mary's objections to the proposed trial into so many proofs of her guilt. Undoubtedly, if she were conscious of guilt, she would object to a trial. But I think it evident, that if she were innocent, she still had many reasons to refuse such an inquiry as was proposed.

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which he had been guilty: and yet she refused to receive a queen and a relation, who felt and was ready to prove herself innocent. Her enemies were not to expect that she would answer their false accusations in prison: they were her subjects, not her equals: she would rather die in captivity, than condescend to put herself on the same footing with them. But let Elizabeth restore her to liberty, and she would prove her innocence in the presence of her good sister, as her friend, but not as her judge. Let Morton and Maitland, the real contrivers of the murder of her husband, be sent for: it would give her pleasure to meet them face to face before the queen of England, and before the nobility of England, in Westminster hall. In a word, let Elizabeth remain neuter: she asked no more: her sister might, if she pleased, withhold the aid which at first she had promised: at least let her not furnish aid to the rebels who had driven their sovereign from her throne.[25]

[25] See the correspondence in Anderson, iv. 47—97; and in Haynes, 465, 466. 469. I observe, that in these letters, Mary continually declares herself innocent, and accuses Morton and Maitland of the murder of Darnley, and of falsely charging her with it. "Ils ont devisé et favorisé, et signé et assisté à un crisme, pour le "me mettre fausement à subs." Anderson, iv. 30. "Withal she "affyrmed that both Lyddynton (Maitland) and the lord Morton "were assentyng to the murder of her husband, as it could well be "proved." Ibid. 54. "Desire my good sister, the queen, to write "that I might and Morton (who be two of the wisest and most "able of them to say most against me) may come, and then let me

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Consents to a conference at York. June 20.

These remonstrances produced but little effect. After long consultation it was resolved, by the English ministers, that Mary should not be received at court till her innocence had been fully established; that her request to leave the kingdom should not be granted; and that she should be immediately transferred from Carlisle to Bolton castle, as a place presenting fewer opportunities of escape. But on what principle of justice, it was asked, could she be detained a prisoner? She was not the subject of Elizabeth. She had come into the kingdom at the express invitation of the queen: since her arrival she had transgressed no law, had committed no offence. It was answered, that she had formerly asserted a right to the crown, and, if she were set at liberty, might re-assert that right: that, a catholic herself, she could rely on the aid of all catholics at home and abroad: and that her succession to the throne, if it were ever effected, would prove the ruin of the protestant cause, both in England and Scotland.[30] On these grounds, the English ministers persisted in requiring a trial, with the hope of being able to disgrace her. She persisted in the rejection

" be there, in her presence face to face, to hear their accusations, " and to be heard how I can make my purgations; but I think " Lithington would be very loth of that commission." Ibid. 90. " Estant innocente, comme Dieu mercy je me sents, ne me faite " vous pas tort de me tenir icy." Ibid. 96. " Mon innocence et " la fiance que j'ai en Dieu m'assurent." Haynes, 465.

[30] Anderson, iv. 102—106.

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of a proceeding, which she deemed derogatory from her dignity, and injurious to her honour. At length the subtlety of Cecil suggested an expedient, which equally served his purpose—

July 28.

a trial, not of Mary, but of her enemies; who, if they could justify their conduct to the satisfaction of certain English commissioners, should be allowed to retain their estates and honours; if not, should be abandoned to the justice or the mercy of their sovereign. If the Scottish queen would approve of this proposal, a treaty might be negociated, by which Elizabeth should undertake, on certain conditions, to reduce her subjects to obedience, and to replace her on the throne [87] Mary, contrary to the opinion of her

[87] Anderson, iv. 109. Goodall, ii. 183. Haynes, 467. One of the conditions suggested was, that Mary should abolish the mass, and introduce the English reform into Scotland, in place of the republican kirk. She had of late attended the sermons and service of a minister of the church of England, a circumstance which flattered Knollis with the hope of her conversion: though she soon undeceived him, and declared that her object was to shew that, if she adhered to the ancient creed, it was not, as her enemies said, through ignorance of the new doctrines. (Anderson, iv. 13. Robertson, i. App. xxiv.) But whatever were her own opinion, she gave a qualified assent to the proposal, chiefly at the urgent solicitation of lord Herries. In her private instructions to her commissioners, she says, "Albeit, I have been instructit and nourishit in that re-"ligion, quhilk hath stand lang time within my realme, callit the "auld religioun, zit nevertheless I will use the counsel of my "derrest sister thairanent, be the advice of my estatis in parlia-"ment, and labour that is in me to cause the samin have place "through ail my realme." Goodall, ii. 347. Sixteen of the queen's lords being consulted on the subject, referred the decision to her prudence. Ibid. 364.

best advisers, gave a reluctant assent. Murray dared not refuse; and the place of conference was fixed in the city of York.

It is opened.

The commissioners to hear and determine this important cause, were the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler, the confidant of Cecil. The queen of Scots was represented by Lesley, bishop of Ross, the lords Livingstone, Boyd, and Herries, and three others. On the opposite part, Murray attended in person, with Morton, Lindsay, the bishop of Orkney, and the abbot of Dunfermlin, aided by Maitland and five other counsellors. To adjust the preliminaries occupied several days. Mary insisted that the promise of the English queen to replace her on the throne, should appear in the powers given to her commissioners; and Murray required a confirmation of the assurance, which he had already received, that, in the event of conviction, Mary should never return to Scotland. These contradictory demands, which at once discovered the insincerity of the English cabinet, were ultimately granted:[28] and the commissioners of the Scottish queen, as plaintiffs, opened the charges against Murray and his associates; that they had risen in arms against

Oct. 4.

Oct. 8.

[28] Anderson, iv. part ii. 25—41. Goodall, ii. 108—128. That Mary agreed to the conferences, on the express condition of being restored to her throne at their termination, is evident from Anderson, iv. 109. That a promise was given to Murray of the opposite tendency, is also plain, from Anderson, iv. part ii. p. 11.

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their sovereign, had traitorously confined her in Lochlevin, and had, by intimidation, compelled her to resign her crown. It had been expected that Murray, in reply, would rest his justification on the part which it was pretended that Mary had acted in the murder of Darnley. But he sought to play a deeper and surer game. He waited on the English commissioners, and expressed his readiness to communicate to them, but in secret, and as to private individuals, the proofs of her guilt. They should recollect that the lives of himself and of his associates were at stake: that before they could appear as public accusers of their sovereign, they had a right to ascertain, whether their proofs would be considered sufficient to establish the charge: whether if it were established, the judges would pronounce sentence; and whether security would be given, that after sentence Mary should never be restored to her throne. He then laid before them translations of eight letters, supposed to be written by her to Bothwell, some before the murder of her husband, others before the seizure of her person; two contracts of marriage, said to have been signed by them both, and a collection of amatory sonnets, described as composed by her, and sent to her paramour. No answer given by the commissioners would satisfy his fears; and at his request, they wrote to Elizabeth for additional instructions.[29]

Oct. 9.

[29] Anderson, iv. 41—63. Goodall, ii. 128—138. Robertson at-

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That the cause of this delay might not be suspected, Murray now gave in a pretended answer to the charge. His friends, he said, had taken up arms, not against the queen, but Bothwell, by whom she was controlled: they had afterwards "sequestrated" her, because she would not separate her cause from his; and had at last accepted, but not extorted, her resignation. To a plea so weak and unsatisfactory the commissioners of Mary opposed a most victorious rejoinder.[30]

Oct. 10.

Oct. 16.

Intrigues of the different parties.

In the mean time, York had become the scene of active and intricate negociation. The Scots were divided into two parties, called the king's lords, and the queen's lords, at the head of which were the earl of Murray, and the duke of Chastelherault, lately returned from France. Both of these earnestly desired a compromise. Murray knew that his charge against Mary would be met with a similar charge against his associates, and that her proofs were better able

tributes these questions to Murray's knowledge of an intrigue of Maitland with the duke of Norfolk. But he had first put them in June, four months before, and received answers. Goodall, ii. 75, 89. Robertson, i. N°. xxv.

[30] Anderson, 64—70. 80—91. Goodall, 139—148. 162—170. They afterwards acknowledged that this was a fictitious plea, because they dared not put in their real answer. Yet they had solemnly sworn, "to proceed sincerely and uprightly; and, for no "affection, malice or worldly respect, to advance any thing other- "wise than their own consciences should bear them witness before "God, to be honest, godly, reasonable, just and true." Anderson, 39.

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to bear investigation than his.[31] Should he fail, he would be left without resource to the vengeance of his sovereign; should he succeed, yet the sickly state of the infant king made it probable that, in a short time, his mortal enemy, the duke, would come to the throne. Hence he was willing to give up his proofs against Mary, to pronounce her innocent by act of parliament, and to allow her a considerable revenue from Scotland, provided she would either confirm her resignation of the crown, or, retaining the name of queen, consent to reside in England, and leave to him the title and the authority of regent. The duke, the next heir after the infant James, feared, on the contrary, the intrigues of Murray, and the hostile pretensions of the house of Lennox. He demanded that the queen should be restored to the crown; but was willing that the prince should be educated under the care of Elizabeth, and that the government should be conducted by a council of noblemen, in which every man should have that place which became his rank. "These parties," says the earl of Sussex, "toss between them the crown and public

[31] This, a most important fact in the controversy respecting the authenticity of the letters, is expressly asserted by one, who was able to judge, the earl of Sussex. "Yf her adverse partee accuse "hir of the murther by producyng of hir letters, she wyll deny "them, and accuse the moste of them of manyfeste consent to the "murther, hardely to be denyed: so as, upon the tryall on bothe "sydes, her proofes wyll judycyally falle beste owte, as yt is "thought." Lodge, ii. 1, 2.

"affairs of Scotland, and care neither for the "mother nor the child (as I think before God,) "but to serve their own turns."[32]

To prevail on Mary to accede to his terms, Murray employed the artful and intriguing Maitland. That statesman had already informed her, as a friend, of the charge to be brought against her, had secretly sent her copies of the supposed documents in a Scottish translation, and had exhorted her to adopt a compromise as the only expedient to preserve her honour.[33] To the duke of Norfolk he suggested, in the name of the regent, a marriage with the Scottish queen: assured him in private of her innocence; and intimated that a speedy termination of all differences could alone prevent the English ministers from publishing the defamatory documents.[34] Lastly, he attempted to persuade the bishop of Ross, that if Mary would confirm her resignation made in Lochlevin, and marry

[32] See his very interesting letter from York, Oct. 22. Lodge, ii. 1, 2. Also another from Knollis, Robertson, i. N°. 16. The duke of Norfolk also asserts the same. "Some seke hollye to sarve ther owne "partycular turnes, the wytche beying done, they care not what "becumes nether of quene nor kynge." Goodall, ii. 157.

[33] Murdin, 52, 53. He assured Mary, that he would not have come to York, had it not been to do her service. Ibid. Yet the whole of his conduct tended to produce that, which we learn from Sussex, Murray wished to effect. Hence I have no doubt, that his suggestions to her were made with the privity of the regent.

[34] Ibid. 164. See also State Trials, i. 92, 93, 94. where Norfolk, Murray, and Ross, charge each other with the first proposal.

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the duke of Norfolk, the queen of England would replace her on the throne.[35]

The conference is transferred to Westminster.

Though Cecil and his colleagues, in the public documents, affected an eager desire to act justly between the opposite parties, it is evident from their private correspondence, that they only sought to derive advantage from the misfortunes of the Scottish queen.[36] Their first object was to disgrace her in the eyes of Europe, by convicting her of adultery and murder; the second, if the other were impracticable, to replace her on the throne, but under such restraints, that she should be the nominal, Elizabeth the real, sovereign of Scotland.[37] They

[35] Robertson, i. App. xxvi. Murdin, 53.

[36] This is plain, from several passages. Thus Sussex observes: "Of the two ends before wrytten, I thynke the fyrste to be beste "in all respects for the quene's mat^e, if Murrey wyll produce "suche mattr as the quene's mat^e maye, by vertue of her superi- "oryte over Scotland, fynd judycyally the S. quene gylty of the "murther of her husband, and therw^t deteyne her in England at "the charges of Scotland, and allow the crownyng of the yonge "kynge, and regency of Murrey....Yf this wyl not falle owt "suffycyently, (as I dowte it wyll not,) to determyne judycyally, "yf she denye her lettres; then surely I thynk it beste, to procede "by coposytyon, wtowte shew of eny meanying to procede to "tryall; and heryn as it shall be the surest waye for the Q.' Ma^t "to procure the S. quene to surrender." (Lodge, II. 5.) Thus Norfolk tells Ross, that the object is "to cause her to come indis- "dain with the hail subjects of the realm, that she may be the "maire unable to attempt any thing to the disadvantage of Eliza- "beth." Robertson, i. N°. xxvi. Murdin, 53. At her first arrival, assurances were sent to Murray, that she should never leave England. Haynes, 469.

[37] Anderson, iv. 8—25. Goodall, ii. 97—108. Robertson, 1. N°. xxvii

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were fully acquainted with the state of the conferences at York, the reluctance of Murray to bring forward the charge, the presumed insufficiency of his proofs, the project of marriage between Norfolk and Mary, and the multiplied intrigues of Maitland. Instead of returning a direct answer to Murray, they replied, that his questions contained several points which could not be elucidated by letter, and required that two commissioners from each party, with sir Ralph Sadler, should hasten to the court, to give to the queen the necessary information. Mary felt some surprise at this unexpected demand; but expressed her satisfaction that the cognizance of her cause would at length come before Elizabeth herself. Murray sent his commissioners, and hinted a wish to follow them: and Norfolk and Sussex, aware that their services were no longer required, resumed their former occupation, the one as lieutenant on the border, the other as president of the council in the north. The conferences, though not formally, were virtually dissolved.[38]

Oct. 16.

Oct. 20.

Hitherto Mary seems to have cherished the most flattering expectations: but when she

Murray charges the queen with the murder.

[38] Anderson, ii. 93—96. Goodall, ii. 170—179. Mary gave new instructions to her commissioners the next day: in which she says, that if any subject be brought forward, not comprised in their former instructions, they are not to answer till they know her mind; as they cannot confer with her now as they did during the conferences at York. Ibid. 350. I think this is not fairly stated by Laing, i. 580.

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learned that Murray had proceeded to London, and that, in violation of the royal promise,[39] he had been admitted into the presence of Elizabeth, her former disquietude revived: she saw the existence of a dark and mysterious plot devised for her ruin; and she ordered her commissioners, to require of the queen in the presence of the nobility and foreign ambassadors, that she might be confronted with her accusers before them all: and if so equitable a request were refused, to declare that their powers were withdrawn, and to demand their passports.[40] The sequel proved that her suspicions were well founded. Murray received favourable answers to the questions which he had proposed at York,

Nov. 22.

Nov. 26.

[39] Ibid. 184. 215. On the 22d of October, Sussex advised Cecil, "to foresee that these Scotts on bothe sydes packe not together, so "as to unwrappe (under coller of this composytyion,) ther mystres "owte of all present slaunders, purge her openly, shewe themselfes "satisfyed with her abode here, and, within a short time aftr, ether "by reconcylement, or the deathe of the chylde, join together to "demaunde of the quene the delyvery home of there quene, to "governe her owne realm, she also making the lyke requeste; and "then the quene, havying no juste cause to deteyne her, be bownd "in honor to retorne her into her realme, and, for mattrs that in this "tyme shall passe, have her a mortal enemy for ever after." Lodge, ii. 6.

[40] "He being ressavit and welcomet unto hir, and we, an free "princess, not haveing access to answer for our selves, as he and his "complices, thinks, therefoir, ye can proceid na farther in this "conference; and ther may be some heids proponit quhairto you "can not answer of your selfis, unless we were there in proper "persoun, to give answer to the calumnies quhilk may come in "question aganis us, swa that partiality appeirs to be usit mani-"festly." Goodall, ii. 185.

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that judgment should be pronounced; that the Scottish queen should not be restored to authority, and that all his acts should be allowed.[41] Thus encouraged, he brought forward his charge, that Mary had been "of fore-knowledge, counsel and device, persuader and commander of the murder of her husband, and had intended to cause the innocent prince to follow his father, and so to transfer the crown from the right line to a bloody murderer and godless tyrant." Mary's commissioners immediately requested an audience of the queen, and demanded, that as Murray and his associates had been admitted into her presence to accuse their sovereign, she might also be admitted into the same presence to prove her innocence; and that in the mean time her accusers might be detained in the country, to receive at the close of the inquiry, that punishment which they would be found to deserve. Elizabeth coldly replied, that it was a subject which required long and mutual deliberation.

Dec. 1.

Dec. 3.

It was in vain that the bishop of Ross and his colleagues made every effort to obtain an answer. They applied to the council; they petitioned the queen; they protested against the proceedings, and, by the advice of the Duke of Chastelherault, and of the French and Spanish ambassadors, declared that the conference was

Produces the letters and contracts. Dec. 3.

[41] Goodall, ii. 200.

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at an end.[42] But Cecil would not allow of their proceeding: he was anxious to procure in due
Dec. 6. form the proofs of the accusers before the interruption of the conference: and in defiance of every remonstrance, refused to receive their protest and declaration. Murray employed the interval to lay before the commissioners the letters, contracts, and sonnets, which had been secretly exhibited at York, accompanied with the depositions of several witnesses, and with such other papers, as he deemed confirmatory
Dec. 9. of the charge. The chief of the English nobility, the earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Huntingdon, and Warwick, were then summoned before the privy council, and sworn to secrecy. The past pro-
Dec. 14. ceedings were explained; the papers, both the originals and copies, were laid before them: and letters, said to have been written by Mary to Elizabeth, were added, that the hand writing
Dec. 15. might be compared. What impression was made on their minds, we know not: but instead of being required to pronounce on the authenticity of the documents, or the guilt of the accused, they were merely told that Mary had demanded to answer in the royal presence, and that Elizabeth thought it inconsistent with the modesty of a maiden queen to grant the request. They expressed their approbation, and

[42] Goodall, ii. 206. 226.

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the next day, the queen sending for the commissioners, informed them, that she could not receive their mistress into her company; that in the present circumstances, any compromise would cover her with lasting infamy; and that she ought to answer the charge in some way, which might convince the public that it was groundless.[43] Dec. 16.

Such is the official account of the proceedings: but the record has descended to us in a very suspicious shape, altered and interlined by the hand of Cecil. There is reason to believe that he had been disappointed in his views; and that the earls had betrayed some distrust of the proofs, or made some objection to the manner of proceeding.[44] From this moment he adopted

Mary retorts the charge.

[43] Goodall, ii. 226—260. Anderson, iii. 32. As far as I can judge, the English minister had no intention to proceed to final judgment. His object appears to have been to obtain legal possession of the letters, that by publishing them he might justify, in the opinion of the world, Mary's subsequent detention in England. Elizabeth answered her commissioners, that she would not put Mary to the trouble of coming to London, till she saw what kind of proofs her accusers could produce. They protested in writing against such a proceeding, and declared the conferences at an end. Cecil would not accept the paper, under pretence that it gave an incorrect statement of the queen's answer. To please him they erased every objectionable passage, and presented it again. In the mean time Murray had presented the documents. The commissioners dated their protest on the 6th, the day on which they first offered it, and before the presentation of the letters: but Cecil insisted it should be dated on the ninth, after the presentation. At length it was agreed that both dates should be inserted, with the reasons for each.—Goodall, ii. 226. 239.

[44] Cecil wrote to Norris at Paris, "that because her majesty

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a new plan. As Mary was now aware that the publication or concealment of papers so prejudicial to her honour, depended on the pleasure of the English queen, it was hoped that with this knowledge she might be induced to resign her crown, or at least to be content with the title of queen, while the authority should remain with the regent. Knollis received orders to suggest and urge to her the adoption of this scheme, but as proceeding from himself, and without authority: and the commissioners were detained at London, that by the advice of pretended friends they might be drawn into the same sentiments. But the resolution of Mary disconcerted her adversaries. She had no sooner received the refusal to admit her into the royal presence, than she ordered her commissioners to declare to the queen and council, that "where "Murray and his accomplices had said that she "knew, counselled, or commanded the murder "of her husband, they had falsely, traitorously, "and wickedly lied, imputing unto her the

Dec. 22.

Dec. 19.

"meant to have the whole matter advisedly heard, she had appointed an assembly, not only of the whole council, but of all the earls of the realm, to take such resolution and end, as she shall be advised unto by her said council." (Cabala, 155.) Yet they appear to have determined nothing. On the contrary, if we may believe the Spanish ambassador, in a letter to Philip, they had displayed some spirit, and checked a little the violence with which Cecil sought the destruction of Mary; "dichos señores havian mostrado algun "valor, y contrastado un poco la furia terrible, con que el Secretario "Cecil queria perder aquella señora." Dispatch of Jan. 1, 1569. He says, that Leicester, Cecil, Bacon, and Sadler, wished to pronounce Mary guilty, but not the others. MSS. at Simancas.

"crime, of which they themselves were the "authors, inventors, doers, and some of them "the very executioners:" that where they alleged, that she had intended to make her son follow his father, "the natural love which a "mother bears to her only bairn," was sufficient to prove their falsehood, their attempt to have slain him in the womb, sufficient to shew their hypocrisy: that she could not allow charges so calumnious to be passed over in silence, but demanded that copies of the papers should be given to her commissioners, and the originals submitted to her own inspection; and pledged her word to name certain individuals among her accusers, and to convict them of the murder, provided she might have access to the presence of the queen, and a reasonable time to collect her witnesses and proofs.[45]

The conference is dissolved.

This unexpected declaration perplexed Elizabeth and the secretary: but the Christmas holidays allowed them a respite of a fortnight: and they waited with impatience for the result of the negociation at Bolton.[46] On the seventh of 1569. Jan. 7.

[45] Goodall, ii. 274—293. Elizabeth was already informed, that the persons whom she chiefly meant to accuse were Morton and Maitland. Goodall, ii. 71. Mary in her instructions to her commissioners, declares, that she never wrote such letters to any living creature; that if any such exist, they are feigned and forged by her accusers. See, on the authenticity of the letters, note (P).

[46] On Jan. 3, Cecil informs Norris, that matters are at a stand, "because, for the saving of her honour, motion is made on her "behalf, to make some appointment between her and her subjects,

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January, the bishop of Ross solicited an audience of the queen. He had received a new order from his sovereign to demand copies of the documents, that she might answer them in every particular, and prove to the whole world that her accusers were "liars" as well as traitors. Elizabeth replied, that she would take time to consider the demand, but thought it best for Mary to resign her crown, and lead a peaceful life in England. The bishop assured her that such advice could not be admitted; the queen had authorised him to declare, that she would never consent to it upon any conditions which were, or could be, proposed; but was willing to extend her clemency towards her disobedient subjects, as far as might stand with her honour and the common weal of her kingdom. He was desired to confer with the lords of the council: but persisted in the same refusal.[47]

The bold and triumphant tone now assumed by the Scottish queen, appears to have alarmed

"nevertheless, outwardly she offereth to prove herself innocent, so "she may be permitted to come to the queen's presence, and answer "for herself, which is thought to be the more earnestly required; "because it is also thought assured it will be denyed"—what will be the end he cannot guess. Cab. 157. It should be recollected, that Cecil's advertisements to ambassadors are not always to be credited; they explain the manner in which he wishes transactions to be represented in foreign courts.

[47] Goodall, ii. 297 et seqq. Quant à la demission de ma couronne, je vous prie de ne me plus empescher: car je suis resolvée et deliberée plus tost mourir, que de faire; et la derniere parole que je ferons en ma vie sera d'une royne d'Ecosse. Ibid, 301.

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her adversaries. It was resolved to put an end to the conferences. Murray and his associates were first licenced to depart with a declaration, that as nothing had been proved against them to impair their honour, so they had shewn no sufficient cause, why Elizabeth "should con- "ceive any evil opinion against the queen her "good sister." Ross and his colleagues were next called, and received an assurance that copies of the papers should be sent to Mary, whenever she would pledge herself to give to them a satisfactory answer. They replied, that such delay was unnecessary, as Mary had already given that pledge on two occasions, by writings under her own seal and signature: that if her accusers were permitted to return to Scotland, the same indulgence ought to be extended to her: and that if it were intended to detain her a captive in England, they took the present opportunity to protest in her name against the validity of any act which should be performed by her while she remained under restraint.[48]

Jan. 10.
Jan. 12.
Jan. 13.

During the conferences at York, Mary had maintained a decided superiority: it has been contended, that in those at Westminster she

Mary claims the victory.

[48] Goodall, ii. 285. 288. 298. 305—315. Ross says, that from the time that Mary accused Murray and his associates, they became "earnest suitors to have licence to return to Scotland without farther "triall, which was granted unto them, but upon what conditions, "colour, and devises, God and their own conscience can witness." Anderson, iii. 33.

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yielded the advantage to her adversaries, by refusing to plead, unless it were in the presence of the queen. Her demand has been represented as the evasion of a guilty conscience, a pitiful expedient, to avoid a trial, from which she could anticipate nothing but conviction. To me such reasoning appears inconclusive. The claim of Mary was reasonable and just: she was not placed on an equal footing with her accusers; while they were present to produce their proofs, she was confined at a distance of more than two hundred miles, when she had to refute them; and the refusal of her request would naturally suggest a suspicion, that her English sister sought not the discovery of the truth, but the condemnation of her captive. The triumph of Murray was however of short duration, and the subsequent conduct of the Scottish queen shews, that the threat of interrupting the conferences was held out only as an inducement to Elizabeth to grant her demand. On the very day on which she received the refusal, she wrote to her commissioners, that she could not suffer the slander of Murray to pass unnoticed, and ordered them to resume the conferences by denying the charge, as far as regarded herself, d retorting it upon her accusers. From that moment she resumed the ascendency. In proportion as she urged the prosecution of the inquiry, Murray shrunk from it. Even Elizabeth condescended to solicit a compromise. But it was then too late. Mary

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would submit to no conditions, till her innocence was established; and the last resource of her enemies was to send back the regent with his originals to Scotland, and to lock up the copies from the inspection of Mary and her commissioners. The victory was undoubtedly hers. It was claimed by her friends: and it appears to have been acknowledged by the chief of the English nobility, who had witnessed the whole of the proceedings.[49]

Project of marriage between Mary and Norfolk.

The duke of Norfolk, on his return from the conferences at York, had met with a very ungracious reception from Elizabeth. Aware of the cause, he assured her, that the project of a marriage between himself and Mary, had not originated from him: that he had never given, nor would ever give, to it any encouragement. "But would you not," said she, "marry the "Scottish queen, if you knew that it would "tend to the tranquillity of the realm, and the "safety of my person?" "Madam," replied the duke, "that woman shall never be my wife, "who has been your competitor, and whose hus- "band cannot sleep in security on his pillow."

[49] Ross, apud Anderson, i. 80. iii. 58. When Cecil saw this passage, he wrote to Norris: "In this book a notable lie is uttered, "that all the noblemen that heard her cause, did judge her inno- "cence, and therefore made suite to her majesty, that she might "marry with my lord of Norfolk." (Cabala, 174.) The last is not asserted by Ross: the first is, and that they wished her well to marry the duke. I suspect the bishop is correct, from the conduct of Arundel, Pembroke, and Leicester.

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This sarcastic allusion, while it gratified the malice, lulled the suspicion of Elizabeth.[50] But Murray, before his departure, was careful to revive the former intrigue. He sent Robert Melville to Mary, and waited in person on the duke. To both he made the same observation: that the only expedient to secure the tranquillity of both realms, was the marriage of the Scottish queen with a protestant nobleman: and that no nobleman was so likely to win the approbation of all parties as the duke of Norfolk. The duke replied, that he could not resolve on a question of such importance, till he had ascertained the will of his sovereign: Mary, that she would give no answer, while she remained a captive. Let him restore her to her authority, and she would listen to his advice, and prove herself a forgiving and indulgent sister.

There is reason to believe that Murray, on this occasion, acted with his accustomed duplicity. He was aware that the Scottish friends of Mary had assembled on the borders to oppose his return; and that the Nortons, Markenfields, and other northern families in England, had associated to intercept him on his road through Yorkshire. He had, in reality, no inclination to support a measure, which would remove him from the regency: but he sought to elude the snares of his enemies; and by this message,

[50] Haynes, 574. Murdin, 51. 180. Howell's State Trials, i. 988. Anderson, iii. 36. 41.

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procured from the credulity of his sister, an order to her friends to offer no violence to him during his journey.[51]

The Scottish queen was then at Rippon, on her way to Tutbury. Elizabeth having interrupted the inquiry, had resolved to imprison her in the heart of the kingdom, under the care of the earl of Shrewsbury. The foreign powers complained of such treatment of a crowned head: but in answer to their remonstrances, she boasted of her indulgence to Mary, in putting an end to the investigation, and suppressing documents, which would otherwise render her the execration of her contemporaries, and immortalize her infamy with posterity.[52]

Throckmorton, who no longer possessed the confidence of Cecil, but had attached himself to the earl of Leicester, was an eager partisan of the projected marriage. At his suggestion Leicester repeatedly discussed the question with the duke, and the earls of Arundel and Pembroke. The proposal might flatter the ambition of Norfolk: but he remembered his promise, and feared the resentment of Elizabeth. He recommended Leicester himself as the future husband of Mary: and on the refusal of that nobleman, proposed his own brother, the lord Henry Howard. At length his consent was extorted at a meeting of the earls, with Ross

Proposes to her.

May.

[51] Murdin, 51. 54. State Trials, i. 982. [52] Digges, 14.

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the agent of Mary, and Wood the envoy of Murray; and a common letter was written to the Scottish queen in the names of Norfolk, Arundel, Pembroke, and Leicester. They proposed that she should be restored to her throne, and receive a confirmation of her claim to the succession in England, on the following conditions: she should never impugn the right of Elizabeth, or of the heirs of her body; should conclude a perpetual league, offensive and defensive, with England; should allow the English reform to be established in Scotland; should receive her disobedient subjects to favour; should procure from the duke of Anjou, a renunciation of all claims, which she might have ceded to him: and, lastly, should consent to a marriage with the duke of Norfolk. On the five first points her answer was satisfactory: with respect to the last, she replied, that woful experience had taught her to prefer a single life: but she was willing to sacrifice her own feelings to their superior judgment: one thing only she required, that they should previously obtain the consent of Elizabeth: for the displeasure of her English sister at her marriage with Darnley, had been the origin of all her subsequent misfortunes.[53]

June.

The secret betrayed.

When the liberation of Mary was next discussed in the English cabinet, the four lords

[53] Camden, i. 186. Anderson, iii. 50—52. Haynes, 535. 542. 545.

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proposed the five first articles: but they suppressed all notice of the marriage, till Maitland, who was to disclose the project to Elizabeth, should arrive from Scotland. The plan was approved; and the lord Boyd and Wood were dispatched, the former to procure the consent of the Scottish royalists, the latter that of the regent and his party. Norfolk immediately opened a secret correspondence with Mary through the agency of the bishop of Ross. He persuaded himself that the English queen was still ignorant of the whole proceeding: but the fidelity of Leicester is doubtful, and of Wood, it is certain, that he had betrayed the secret before his departure.[54]

The intrigue was now rapidly hastening to a crisis. Bothwell, by a formal instrument, had signified from Denmark his consent to a divorce, to be pronounced by any competent tribunal: and the duke had engaged himself to Mary so far that, to use his own expression, he could not recede in conscience, though he would not advance a step till Murray had removed certain impediments out of his way.[55] The approbation of the kings of France and Spain had been asked through their ambassadors: Cecil, though he would not promote, engaged not to oppose the project: and the consent had been obtained of the principal nobility, though some expressed

July 1.

[54] Anderson, iii. 50—55. Hardwicke papers, i. 189—194.
[55] Haynes, 520.

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an apprehension, that the Duke would fall a victim to his credulity. Nothing remained but that the regent should approve the articles, and Maitland opened the subject to Elizabeth. Much repugnance was anticipated on her part: but that, it was thought, might be subdued by the consentient efforts of her council and nobility.[56]

Murray opposes the plan.

Murray assembled the Scottish parliament, and while he affected to speak in favour of the liberation of Mary, employed all his influence

July 25.

to prevent it. The articles devised by the English council were rejected; even a motion to appoint judges, who might examine the validity of the queen's marriage with Bothwell was negatived. Maitland saw the perfidy of the regent: as soon as his favourite plan was defeated, he began to fear for his own safety, and sought an asylum amongst the clansmen of his friend, the earl of Athol.[57]

Elizabeth is irritated. Aug. 13.

An envoy, with the narrative of the proceedings of the Scottish parliament, found Elizabeth at Farnham, and it was immediately whispered among the ladies at court, that Mary and Norfolk were secretly contracted to each other.[58]

[56] Haynes, 549. Anderson, iii. 62, 63. Camden, i. 187.

[57] Anderson, iii. 71. Cabala, 155, 156. On this the duke remarked: "he (Murray) hathe a new marke in hys eye, no lesse than "a kyngdom: God send hyme suche luke as others have hade, that "hathe followyd his cowrse." Haynes, 522.

[58] Murray informed the queen that the Scots would not consent to the restitution of Mary in any manner. Elizabeth was displeased,

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Though Leicester was urged, though he promised to represent the whole matter to the queen, he delayed. Elizabeth invited the duke to dinner: and as she rose from table, advised him to beware on what pillow he should rest his head. This ominous allusion alarmed him and his friends: Leicester again promised, and again delayed: and the court proceeded to Tichfield, where Elizabeth was informed that her favourite was confined to his bed by a sudden and dangerous indisposition. She hastened to visit him: and received from him, as she sate by his bedside, a confession, interrupted with sighs and tears, of his ingratitude and disloyalty, in having without her knowledge attempted to marry her rival to one of her subjects.[59]

Leicester was soon forgiven by the love-sick queen: Norfolk was severely reprimanded, and forbidden on his allegiance ever more to entertain the project. He assented with cheerfulness: but soon observed, that whenever he came into the presence of the queen, she met his eye with looks of disdain and anger: that the courtiers avoided his company, and that Leicester treated him as an enemy. Hoping to mollify the queen by

for she began to wish her out of the realm, upon conditions to avoid peril. Norfolk's marriage with her might succeed, if Elizabeth would approve, says Cecil, "but I wish myself as free from the considera- "tion thereof, as I have been from the intelligence of the devising "thereof." Cabala, 169.

[59] Camden, i. 188. Haynes, 546.

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letters of submission and the intercession of his friends, he retired from court; as did also the
Sept. 15. earls of Arundel and Pembroke. The duke promised to return within a week: but he proceeded to London, and from London to Kenninghall in Norfolk. Thence he wrote to the queen, attributing his absence to his fear of her resentment. But suspicions of his loyalty had by this time been infused into her mind: she sent him a peremptory order to return without delay, and joined the earl of Huntingdon and the viscount Hereford, in commission with the earl of Shrewsbury, for the more secure custody of the queen of Scots.[60]

A short time before, Paris, a page concerned in the murder of Darnley, had been apprehended. Elizabeth, under the persuasion that he could make important disclosures, requested that he
Aug. 16. might be sent to London: but he was already executed, and in place of the prisoner, she received two depositions, said to have been made
Aug. 9. by him before his trial. In the first, he charged Maitland as the contriver of the plot: Argyle, Huntley, and Balfour, as accomplices; and Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay, as the supporters of
Aug. 10. Bothwell: in the second, he described Mary as privy and assenting to the murder. It was at a time when Murray sought to prevent the in-

[60] Camden, ibid. Haynes, 521. Calaba, 168.

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trigues of Maitland in favour of the Scottish queen. Having inveigled the secretary to attend a council at Stirling, he placed him under arrest, and named a day for his trial. In this situation attempts were made to render him the accuser of Norfolk. He refused,[61] and Murray acted the part of a traitor. He sent the duke's letters to the queen, with a protestation respecting himself, that he had not originally devised the project, nor would ever have assented to it, had he not been compelled by motives of personal safety. Elizabeth ordered the duke on his return to court, to be committed to the Tower, the earls of Leicester, Arundel, and Pembroke to be excluded from her presence, and the bishop of Ross, the lord Lumley, and some others, to be placed under arrest. All were subjected to that rigorous system of examination which was then in use. A series of ensnaring questions was proposed to each individual in private, and he was told that his only hope of mercy depended on the veracity of his answers. The different confessions were then compared: the collation suggested new questions, to explain discrepancies, to call forth additional information, and to draw the prisoners into accusations

Sept. 3.

Norfolk is sent to the Tower.

Oct. 5.

Oct. 10.

[61] Laing, ii. 295—318. "He has flatly denied to me to be in any "sort the accuser of the duke of Norfolk." Murray to Cecil, apud Chalmers, ii. 483. On the day of trial his friends assembled in such numbers, that the regent put off the trial for an indeterminate period. Laing, ii. 326.

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of each other. Thus the interrogatories were multiplied, till the prosecutors had sifted every suspicious circumstance, and had convinced themselves either of the guilt or of the innocence of the accused. Of the examinations on this occasion, many are still extant:[62] and from them it is evident that the duke and his friends entertained no traitorous or disloyal intention; though their presumption, in treating with a foreign princess on such a subject, and in such circumstances, was calculated to offend the feelings, and to disconcert the measures of their sovereign.

Conspiracy to liberate Mary.

But the attention of the ministers was soon occupied by a much more alarming project. The Scottish queen had many friends in the northern counties. To men of warm and generous feelings, the spectacle of a young, a beautiful and accomplished princess, drawn within the borders by the promises, and then imprisoned by the jealousy of a female relative, could not fail of being an interesting object. Those who approached her, were won by the elegance of her manners, and the charms of her conversation: and all departed from her presence compassionating her misfortunes, and disposed to favour her cause.[63] The advocates of her right

[62] Haynes, 534—536. 541—549.

[63] "If I might give advice," says White to Cecil, "there shall be "verray few subjects in this land have accesse to, or conferens "with this Ladie. For besyd, that she is a goodly personadge (and

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to the succession, condemned the selfish policy which sought to weaken that right by the defamation of her character: and the professors of the ancient creed looked on her as a martyr, suffering for her attachment to the faith of her fathers. During the summer she had received many offers of service from men, who, in the true spirit of chivalry, were willing to risk their lives and fortunes to rescue an injured queen from the power of her persecutors. These she refused, through the cautious advice of the duke of Norfolk. But the disgrace of that nobleman extinguished her hopes: the appointment of two, whom she considered as her sworn enemies to be her keepers, agitated her with violent apprehensions for her life. She dispatched secret messages to the earl of Westmoreland, whose wife was the sister of Norfolk, and to the earl of Northumberland, who had received many affronts from the council; and through these earls to Egremont Ratcliffe, brother of the earl of Sussex, to Leonard Dacres, the uncle of the late lord Dacres, to the Nortons, Markenfields, Tempests, and all who had formerly made to her the tender of their services.[64] The precise terms of these

"yet in trouthe not comparable to our souverain) she hath withall "an alluring grace, a prety Scottishe speeche, and a serching wit "clowded with myldness. Fame might move some to releve her, "and glory joined to gain, might stir others to adventure moche for "hir sake." Haynes, 511.

[64] Mary said openly Cecil "was her enemy, and would cause

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messages were never ascertained: the result proves that she reminded them of their promises, and besought them to liberate her from the power of her enemies.

Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland in arms.

During the month of October an unusual ferment was visible in the counties of York, Durham, and Northumberland: and the court was repeatedly alarmed with rumours of rebellion, which could never be traced to any authentic source.[65] The earl of Sussex communicated the information to the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and was satisfied with the apparent loyalty and sincerity of their answers. In a few days his suspicions revived: they were confirmed by the refusal of the two lords to obey his invitation to York. Still Northumberland

"her to be made away." Haynes, 511. She wrote to have Huntingdon and Hereford removed: the first had an interest in her death, the other had said at table that the duke of Norfolk should be "cut "shorter er it weare long." Murdin, 50. Both wrote in their own vindication. Haynes, 532.

[65] Dr. Nicholas Morton, formerly a prebendary of York, had visited the northern counties in the spring of this year. He came from Rome with the title of apostolical penitentiary. The object of his mission appears to have been to impart to the catholic priests as from the pope, those faculties and that jurisdiction which they could no longer receive in the regular manner from their bishops. Camden says that he urged the northern gentlemen to rebellion, and had been sent to inform them, that the pontiff had deposed the queen, on account of heresy: (Camden, 194.) but he could only inform them, that a bull of deposition was in preparation: for it was not signed or published till the next year. Of his activity, however, in promoting the insurrection, there can be little doubt. The Nortons and Markenfields were his relatives. His father and Markenfield's father had married two sisters Strype, ii. 389.

balanced between the danger to himself, and his engagement to Mary: but he was suddenly awakened from his irresolution, by a real or feigned alarm in the dead of the night, that an armed force was on its march to apprehend him at Topcliffe. He rose, and repaired in haste to the castle of Branspeth, where the earl of Westmoreland, notwithstanding the entreaties of Norfolk, had already called around him some hundreds of his friends and tenants. The next day, the banner of insurrection was unfurled.[66]

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Nov. 14.

Nov 16.

The real object of the insurgents was, to march to Tutbury, to liberate the queen of Scots, and to extort from Elizabeth, a declaration that Mary was next heir to the throne. But, to increase their numbers, they addressed a proclamation to all persons professing the catholic faith, calling on them to unite in this attempt to redress the national grievances, restore the ancient worship, and protect from ruin the old nobility of the realm. Much was expected from this appeal to the religious feelings

Proclamation in favour of catholic worship.

[66] It appears that the leaders, before the insurrection, assembled several clergymen, and put to them the question, whether the unjust arrest, and imprisonment of the duke of Norfolk, would not justify them in taking up arms in defence of their liberties, and of the ancient nobility of the realm. The opinions were divided. Murdin, 221.—A few days before the insurrection, Northumberland and his countess went to Wentworth house. The latter sought to introduce herself in disguise as a nurse to Bastian's wife in childbed. Had she succeeded, she meant to exchange clothes with Mary, that the latter might escape. Chalmers, from a letter in the paper office, i. 345.

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of the people. "There are not," says Sadler, "in all this country ten gentlemen that do favour and allow of her majesty's proceedings "in the cause of religion."[97] Occasionally, indeed, some of them attended the established worship, that they might escape the grievous penalties threatened by the law: but this very conformity, extorted in opposition to conscience, exasperated their discontent. They saw around them examples of successful insurrection in the cause of religious liberty. The calvinists of Scotland had established their own creed, in defiance of all opposition; the calvinists of France had thrice waged war against their own sovereign: both had been aided with men and money by the queen of England. If this were lawful to other religionists, why might not they also draw the sword, and claim the rights of conscience.

The insurgents retreat. Nov 16.

As the insurgents advanced, they burnt the bible and the book of common prayer in the cathedral of Durham, and re-established the

Nov. 18.

mass at Ripon. Their standard represented the Saviour, with blood streaming from his wounds, and was borne by Norton, an aged gentleman, whose grey locks and enthusiastic air aroused the feelings, and commanded the respect, of the beholders. On Clifford moor

[97] Sadler, ii. 55. The proclamation is in Strype, i. 547. See note (Q).

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they mustered their forces, and held a council of war. The Spanish ambassador had informed them, that they must not look for assistance to him, but to the duke of Alva, in Flanders:[68] the catholic gentlemen, instead of listening to their appeal, had joined the royal banner under the earl of Sussex,[69] and the council had ordered two armies to be collected, one before them in the south, another in their rear to the north. They abandoned their design of liberating the queen of Scots, and with 7000 men hastened back to Raby castle. Two days later Mary was removed, for greater security, from Tutbury to the city of Coventry.

Nov. 25.

The sudden retreat of the insurgents compelled sir George Bowes, the commander of the royalists, to throw himself into Barnard Castle, which surrendered at the end of ten days. In the interval the two earls had taken possession

They solicit the aid of the catholic lords. Dec. 10.

[68] They applied both to him and the pontiff, to aid them in the restoration of the catholic worship: but their applications were too late. "Nobilitatem tuam hortamur" (says Pius to Alva) "et quo "majore animi nostri studio possumus rogamus, ut, si hoc cha- "rissimi in Christo filii nostri Hispaniarum regis catholici voluntate "et commodo facere potest, quidquid ad eas copias (of the insur- "gents) vel tuendas, vel augendas, vel adjuvandas conferre valet, "id ne prætermittere velit." Laderchi, iii. 230. But the records at Simancas shew, that Alva always dissuaded Philip from sending aid to the discontented in England.

[69] "I fynde the gentilmen of this countrey, though the most "parte of them be well affected to the cause which the rebells "make the colour of their rebellion, yet in outwarde shew well "affected to serve your majestie trewly against them." Sadler, Nov. 26. Vol. ii. 43.

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of Hartlepool, to open a communication with the Spanish Netherlands;[70] and had dispatched messengers into different counties, to solicit aid from the noblemen and gentlemen, distinguished by their attachment to the ancient faith, or known to abet the cause of the queen of Scots. In their new manifesto they no longer talked of the reformation of religion, but of the necessity of determining the succession to the crown. This, they observed, had been the object of the ancient nobility of the realm: but had been defeated by the pernicious counsels of the queen's confidential advisers, who sought to maintain their own power, by taking the lives and liberties of their adversaries. Hence they had determined to oppose force to force, and committing themselves to the mercy of the Almighty, earnestly solicited the assistance of all who regarded the welfare of the realm, or the preservation of the ancient nobility. The earl of Derby was the first to apprehend the messenger, and send his letters to the queen: the example was followed by many others: and Elizabeth, affected by the loyalty of their conduct, returned thanks to God, who had given her such loving and dutiful subjects.[71]

Nov. 29.

[70] Sadler, 52. The surrender of Hartlepool, gave great uneasiness to Cecil. Ibid. 53. 57.

[71] Haynes, 563—565. Murdin, 38. Camden, 194. Sadler, ii. 54. "The queen's majesty hath had a notable tryal of her whole "realm and subjects in this time, wherein she hath had service

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A month had elapsed since the insurgents first unsheathed the sword, and still Sussex, the queen's lieutenant, remained stationary at York. By many it was said that he maintained a secret correspondence with the two earls: and Elizabeth herself began to entertain suspicions of his loyalty. Sir Ralph Sadler, proceeded to York with the title of treasurer of the army, to act as a spy on the conduct of the lieutenant; and a captain Styrley, was suborned to introduce himself as a friend to the earl of Westmoreland at Branspeth. Sussex however proved a loyal but cautious commander. The principal portion of his army consisted of catholic gentlemen and their tenants, whom duty or interest had ranged under the royal standard: and without additional force he hesitated to venture a battle, the loss of which might be followed by the rising of the whole country.[72] On this account he waited for the arrival of the lord admiral and the earl of Warwick, who led an army of 12,000 men, raised in the southern counties: and then, keeping a day's march in advance, he proceeded towards the insurgents, whose force was daily

They flee into Scotland.

Nov. 18.

Dec. 12.

"readily of all sorts, without respect of religion." Cecil to Norris. Cabala, 180.

[72] Sadler, ii. 42. 73. 78. Haynes, 553. 558. 569. I suspect, that the spy captain Styrley, was the same person as is called captain Shurley in Norton's speech at his execution. If so, he appears to have been an active agent in plotting the rebellion. Norton declared that "he was the cause of his death." Howell's State Trials, i. 1085.

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diminished by desertion, and whose expectations had been disappointed by the apathy of the catholics, and the indolence of the duke of Alva. A pretended friend warned them of the approach of the royalists, whom he represented as 30,000 strong: all idea of resistance was
Dec. 16. abandoned: they retired from Branspeth to Hexham: the footmen dispersed: the horse about 500 men hastened to Naworth castle,
Dec. 21. and from Naworth, fled across the borders into Liddisdale, escorted by their allies, three hundred Scottish horse, the partisans of Mary.[73]

Executions.

It was in vain that Elizabeth demanded the immediate surrender of the fugitives. Murray, by threats and money, prevailed on Hector Græme, of Harlow, to give up the earl of Northumberland: yet he did not dare to send the captive to England, but confined him in the castle of Lochlevin. The countess, with the earl of Westmoreland, Ratcliffe, Norton, Markenfield, Swinburn, Tempest, and the other exiles, were safe under the protection of the border clans of Hume, Scot, Kerr, Maxwell, and Johnstone, whose chiefs set at defiance the authority of the regent, and the threats of the English queen.[74] These, in a short time, were all safely

[73] Sadler, ii. 62, 64. Cabala, 170, 171.

[74] Cabala, 171. Haynes, 378. Lodge, ii. 28. Sadler, ii. 95. 101. A letter from Constable, a spy, gives an interesting account of the borderers. "At supper I hard vox populi, that the lord regent "would not for his owne honor, nor for th'onor of his countrey de-

conveyed to the continent: but their unfortunate followers in England felt the whole weight of the royal vengeance. All who possessed lands, or chattels, were reserved for trial, that the forfeitures, consequent on their attainders, might indemnify the queen for the expenses of the campaign: the poorer classes were abandoned to the execution of martial law; and between Newcastle and Wetherby, a district of sixty miles in length and forty in breadth, there was not a town or village, in which some of the inhabitants did not expire on the gibbet. The survivors were at length pardoned, but on condition, that they should take not only the oath of allegiance, but also that of supremacy.[75]

Queen's proclamation.

When the queen's lieutenant had taken ample vengeance on the rebels, she was advised to publish a proclamation, declaratory of her past proceedings and present intentions. In it she ob-

"liver th'earls, if he had them both, unless it were to have there "quene delivered to him, and if he would agre to make that change, "the borderers would stirt up in his contrary, and rescue both the "quene and the lords from him: for the like shame was never done "in Scotland: and that he durst better eate his owne luggs than "come again to sake Farniherst. Hector of Th'arlowe's (he had "betrayed Northumberland) head was wished to be eaten among "us at supper." Sadler, ii. 118. If we believe Ross, Murray had actually made the offer of exchange by two successive messengers; but Ross, with the foreign ambassadors, prevented it by their remonstrances. Anderson, iii. 83, 84.

[75] Strype, 552. Stow, 664. The bishop of Durham writes, that in that county the sheriff cannot procure juries, "the number of "offenders is so grete, that few innocent are left to trie the giltie." Sadler, ii. 95, note.

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served, that many had been drawn into rebellion by false assertions of designing men, who attributed to her an intention of persecuting for religious opinions. She therefore declared, that she claimed no other ecclesiastical authority than had been due to her predecessors: that she pretended no right to define articles of faith, to change ancient ceremonies, formerly adopted by the catholic and apostolic church, or to minister the word or the sacraments of God: but that she conceived it her duty to take care that all estates under her rule should live in the faith and obedience of the Christian religion, to see all laws, ordained for that end, duly observed, and to provide that the church be governed and taught by archbishops, bishops, and ministers. Moreover, to do away all doubts arising from false reports, she assured her people that she meant not to molest them for religious opinions, provided they did not gainsay the scriptures, or the creed apostolic and catholic, nor for matters of religious ceremony, as long as they should outwardly conform to the laws of the realm, which enforced the frequentation of divine service in the ordinary churches.[76]

Rising of Leonard Dacres.

No one had been more deeply implicated in the project for the liberation of Mary than Leonard Dacres, the male representative of the noble family of the Dacres of Gillsland. At the

[76] Haynes, 501. See note (Q).

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commencement of the rebellion he left the court to raise men, avowedly for the service of Elizabeth, but with the intention of joining the two earls. Their disorderly flight from Hexham to Naworth, convinced him that the cause was desperate. He hung upon their rear, made a number of prisoners, and obtained among his neighbours the praise of distinguished loyalty.[77] But the council was better acquainted with his real character; and the earl of Sussex received orders to apprehend him secretly, on a charge of high treason. This probably was the cause that we find him, within the space of a month, braving, single handed, the authority of his sovereign. At his call, three thousand English borderers ranged themselves under the scollopshells, the well-known banner of the Dacres. They met the royal army, commanded by lord Hunsdon, on the banks of the river Gelt. Leonard displayed, in the battle, the courage of a warrior and the abilities of a leader; and though he was defeated, his opponent had not to boast of an easy or bloodless victory. He found an asylum first in Scotland, and afterwards in Flanders.[78]

1570. Jan. 18.

Feb. 22.

Inroads across the borders.

It is probable that the hopes of Dacres were excited by the intelligence received from Scotland. Murray had fallen a victim to private vengeance: he had been shot in the streets of

[77] Cabala, 171. Sadler, ii. 114.

[78] Sadler, ii. 140. Camden, i. 197.

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1570. Jan. 23.

Linlithgow by Hamilton, of Bothwellhaugh, whose wife had lost her reason in consequence of the treatment which she had received from a retainer of the regent. This bloody deed was hailed as a victory by the friends of the Scottish queen. That very night the lairds of Ferniherst and Buccleugh, to display their joy, crossed the English borders in hostile array: the duke of Chastelherault, and the earls of Argyle and Huntley, assumed the government, as the lieutenants of Mary. Kirkaldy admitted them into the capital; and the cause of the Scottish queen obtained a temporary ascendency over that of her opponents. But Elizabeth, under the pretence of punishing those who had invaded her

April 17. dominions, and offered an asylum to her rebels, ordered the lord Scroop to enter Scotland on the western, the earl of Sussex on the eastern coast. The clans of the Johnstones, Kerrs, and Scots, saw their lands wasted, their houses and fortresses given to the flames: Hume castle and

May 4. Falscastle, the property of the lord Hume, were taken, and garrisoned with Englishmen: and the earl of Morton, the chief among the king's lords, aided by his foreign allies, ravaged without mercy the domains of the Hamiltons, the Livingstons, and the other adherents of the captive queen. They were saved from utter ruin by the importunities of the French ambassador and of the bishop of Ross. Elizabeth recalled her forces: she even appeared to waver between

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the choice of a successor to Murray, and the liberation of Mary: but the escape of the English rebels from Scotland to Flanders, rekindled her resentment; she signified her willingness, that Morton and his friends should elect a regent; and Lennox, the grandfather of the young king, was, at the royal recommendation, raised to that dignity.[79]

Excommunication of Elizabeth.

In narrating these events, the consequences of the detention of Mary in England, I have omitted several insulated occurrences, to which it will now be necessary to call the attention of the reader.—1°. When Pius IV. ascended the papal throne, he had sought by letters and messengers to recal Elizabeth to the communion of the Roman church, and afterwards invited her, like other princes, to send ambassadors to the council at Trent.[80] The attempt was fruitless: but, though her obstinacy might provoke, his prudence taught him to suppress, his resentment. To the more fervid zeal of his successor

1560. May 5.

[79] Cabala, 171. 174—178. Lodge, ii. 42. Anderson, ii. 90—96.

[80] Parpalia, whom she knew was the first messenger (Camden, 72); the second, with the invitation, was Martinengo. He solicited a passport, through the Spanish ambassador. On May 1, 1560, a council was held, and the passport was refused for these reasons: The opening of the council had not been notified to Elizabeth: it was not a free christian council: her predecessors had always refused access to papal messengers, when they thought proper. She would refuse now, because his presence might cause disturbance in the realm. Pallavicin. ii. 620. Camden, 84. Strype, i. 113.

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Pius V. such caution appeared a dereliction of duty. Elizabeth had by her conduct proclaimed herself the determined adversary of the catholic cause in every part of Europe; she had supported rebels against the catholic sovereigns in the neighbouring kingdoms; and had, in defiance of justice and decency, thrown into prison the fugitive queen of Scots, the last hope of the British catholics. The pontiff considered himself bound to seek the deliverance of the captive princess; he represented to the kings of France and Spain that honour, and interest, and religion called on them to rescue Mary from imprisonment and death: and the moment he knew that Elizabeth had committed the cognizance of her cause to the commissioners at York and Westminster, he ordered the auditor Riario to commence proceedings against the English queen in the papal court. In the act of accusation it was asserted, that Elizabeth had assumed the title of head of the church, deposed and imprisoned the canonical bishops, and instituted schismatical prelates in their sees; that, rejecting the ancient worship, she had supported a new worship, and received the sacrament after the manner of heretics; and that she had chosen known heretics for the lords of her council, and had imposed an oath derogatory from the rights of the holy see. In proof of these charges were taken the depositions of twelve Englishmen,

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exiles for their religion,[81] and, after several months, the judges pronounced their opinion that she had incurred the canonical penalties of heresy. A bull was prepared, in which the pope, after an enumeration of her offences, was made to pronounce her guilty of heresy, to deprive her of her "pretended" right to the crown of England, and to absolve her English subjects from their allegiance. Still, forcible objections were urged against the proceeding, and Pius himself hesitated to confirm it with his signature. At length the intelligence arrived of the failure of the insurrection: it was followed by an account of the severe punishment inflicted on the northern catholics, of whom no fewer than eight hundred were said to have perished by the hands of the executioners: and the pontiff, on the 25th of February, signed the bull, and ordered its publication. Several copies were sent to the duke of Alva, with a request that he would make them known in the sea-ports of the Netherlands; and by the duke some of these were forwarded to the Spanish ambassador in England.[82] Early in the morning of the fifteenth of May, one was seen affixed to the gates of the

1570. Feb. 25.

Mar. 30.

Daring action of Felton. May 15.

[81] The witnesses were Goldwell, the deprived bishop of St. Asaph, Shelley, prior of St. John's, Clennock, bishop elect of Bangor, Morton, prebendary of York, Henshaw, rector of Lincoln college, Daniel dean of Hereford, Bromborough, Hall, and Kirton, doctors of divinity, and three others. Becchetti, xii. 105.

[82] Ibid. 107.

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bishop of London's residence in the capital. The council was surprised and irritated: a rigorous search was made through the inns of law; and another copy of the bull was found in the chamber of a student of Lincoln's inn, who acknowledged, on the rack, that he had received it from a person of the name of Felton. Felton resided near Southwark, a gentleman of large property and considerable acquirements; but his temper was ungovernable, and his attachment to the creed of his fathers approached to enthusiasm. On his apprehension he boldly confessed, that he had set up the bull; refused, even under torture, to disclose the names of his accomplices
Aug. 8. and abettors; and suffered the death of a traitor, glorying in the deed, and proclaiming himself a martyr to the papal supremacy. But, though he gave the queen on the scaffold no other title than that of the pretender, he asked her pardon, if he had injured her; and in token that he bore her no malice, sent her as a present, by the earl of Sussex, a diamond ring, which he drew from his finger, of the value of four hundred pounds.[83]

[83] Camden, 211—215. Bridgewater, 42. Dodd, ii. 157. The government account of his execution makes him repent of the fact. It is in Howell's State Trials, 1085. His wife, who had been maid of honour to Mary, and a friend of Elizabeth, had till her death a licence to keep a priest for her own family. Felton had obtained the copies of the bull from the chaplain of the Spanish ambassador, who immediately left the kingdom. Becchetti, 107.

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Elizabeth seeks its revocation.

If the pontiff promised himself any particular benefit from this measure, the result must have disappointed his expectations. The time was gone by, when the thunders of the Vatican could shake the thrones of princes. By foreign powers the bull was suffered to sleep in silence; among the English catholics, it served only to breed doubts, dissension, and dismay. Many contended that it had been issued by incompetent authority: others that it could not bind the natives, till it should be carried into actual execution by some foreign power: all agreed that it was in their regard an imprudent and cruel expedient, which rendered them liable to the suspicion of disloyalty, and afforded their enemies a pretence to brand them with the name of traitors. To Elizabeth, however, though she affected to ridicule the sentence, it proved a source of considerable uneasiness and alarm. She persuaded herself that it was connected with some plan of foreign invasion, and domestic treason.[94] She

[94] A conspiracy was detected in Norfolk, about the same time when Felton set up the bull: but there does not appear any connexion between the two. Three gentlemen were accused of a design to invite Leicester, Cecil, and Bacon, to dinner, to seize them as hostages for the duke of Norfolk, who was still in the Tower, and to expel the foreign protestants, who had lately been settled in the county. They had a proclamation ready, inveighing against the wantonness of the court, and the influence of new men. (Camden, 215. Lodge, ii. 46.) Soon afterwards Lord Morley retired to the continent. It was supposed, that he scrupled to acknowledge the queen after the publication of the bull, and the earl of Southampton requested to have on the subject, the opinion of the bishop of Ross, who replied, that there

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complained of it by her ambassadors as an insult to the majesty of sovereigns: and she requested the emperor Maximilian to procure its revocation. To the solicitations of that Prince, Pius answered by asking, whether Elizabeth deemed the sentence valid or invalid. If valid, why did she not seek a reconciliation with the holy see? if invalid, why did she wish it to be revoked? As for the threat of personal revenge, which she held out, he despised it. He had done his duty, and was ready to shed his blood in the cause.[85]

1571. Jan. 5.

Rebellion in the Netherlands.

2°. If, however, the kings of France and Spain refused to avail themselves of the papal bull, it was not because they had received no cause of provocation. The English ministers persisted in their former policy. That they might occupy these powerful princes, at home, they continually urged the reformers in France and the Netherlands to take up arms, and aided their efforts sometimes covertly with money, sometimes more openly by actual hostilities. The discontent in the Netherlands was at first common to both catholics and protestants. The natives had for centuries grown in wealth and

could be no difficulty; such bulls must, before they could bind, be put in execution, and that depended on foreign princes, not on private individuals. Murdin, 30. 40. It appears, however, that Morley left the kingdom on another account: to escape the prosecutions with which he was threatened for having assisted at mass. Haynes, 604, 605. 622.

[85] Recchetti, xii. 107. 108.

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population under the mild and paternal government of the dukes of Burgundy: but the rights and franchises which they claimed, accorded not with the arbitrary notions of their present sovereign, Philip of Spain: nor was it long before every class of men began to remonstrate: the nobility, that they had been deprived of their constitutional weight in the state; the clergy, that the most opulent abbeys, hitherto possessed by natives, had been dissolved to found bishoprics, which were bestowed on strangers; the reformers, that they were the victims of a sanguinary persecution; and the laymen of both persuasions, that their best and dearest privileges were invaded by the illegal proceedings of a new tribunal, formed after the model of the Spanish inquisition. To put down this odious institution, both catholics and protestants bound themselves to each other by the most solemn engagements. The compromise, such was the name which they gave to the league, alarmed the dutchess of Parma, the governess of the provinces; she commanded the inquisitors to suspend their proceedings, and the reformers, looking on this concession as a victory, rose in arms for the purpose, as they pretended, of extirpating idolatry, plundered the churches, murdered the priests, and drove the monks and nuns from their convents. Though the dutchess, blending firmness with conciliation, had been able to suppress this ebullition of popular fana-

1566. April.

CHAP. I.

ticism, Philip deemed her unequal to the task of supporting the sovereign authority in such turbulent times; and chose for her successor Alvarez, duke of Alva, whose principles of passive obedience had recommended him to the favour of the king, and whose military renown struck terror into the hearts of the factious. The men who had been, if not the ostensible leaders, at least the secret abettors, of the preceding troubles, were William prince of Orange, and the counts Egmont and Horn; all three making open profession of the catholic creed, though the former, if he had any religion at all, was in heart a protestant. The prince, anticipating the vengeance of the king, had stolen away to his principality of Nassau. Egmont and Horn awaited the arrival of Alva. The duke entered the Netherlands at the head of fourteen thousand men: in the presence of this force the spirit of opposition melted away: the former edicts were confirmed by others still more rigorous: the penalties of treason were denounced against all who had framed the compromise, or insulted the religion and authority of their sovereign; and the two counts, in consequence of orders received from Philip, were apprehended and imprisoned.

1567. April.

Aug.

New civil war in France.

3°. The prince of Orange had long been secretly connected with the prince of Condé, and the other protestant leaders in France, who all believed or affected to believe, that at the in-

terview between the French and Spanish courts at Bayonne, a league had been formed by the catholic princes for the extirpation, first of the protestants in France, and then of the protestants in other countries. Of this league no satisfactory evidence has ever been produced:[86] but the opinion of its existence served the purpose of those who framed the report, as effectually as if it had been real. Assuming the arrival of the duke of Alva as the first step in the plan, Condé called a meeting of the French protestants; in which it was resolved to anticipate their enemies, by surprising the court at Monceaux. The project was, however, discovered, and the king escaped with difficulty to Paris, in the midst of a body of Swiss infantry, who, marching in a square, repulsed every charge of the huguenot cavalry. The English ambassador, Norris, had been deeply implicated in the arrangement of this atrocious, and, in reality,

Sept. 28.

[86] The meeting was solicited by the king of France, and reluctantly acceded to by Philip. That monarch was not present himself, but sent the duke of Alva with his wife: whom he forbade to contract any engagement, without his knowledge and assent. What passed between the parties was never known; and the only account that can be relied on, is given by Strada, out of a letter from Philip to the archdutchess Margaret. He informed her, that the French monarch professed a determination to support the catholic faith: that several marriages were proposed by the queen mother, but not concluded; and that, on account of the embassy of the Sultan to Charles, it was proposed to him to exchange his alliance with the Turk for one with Spain. Strada, l. iv. Anno 1565. See also a dissertation by Griffet, in Daniel x. 357.

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unprovoked attempt; but though the queen, as a sovereign, condemned the outrage, Cecil
Nov. 3. required Norris to "comfort" the insurgents, and exhort them to persevere.[87] Thus a new civil and religious war was lighted up in the heart of France: the king found himself besieged in his capital: and if the insurgents were
Nov. 10. defeated in the battle of St. Denis, the advan-
Nov. 12. tage was dearly purchased with the death of the
1568. constable Montmorenci. A short pacification
March 10. was concluded in the spring;[88] but the interval was employed by the huguenots to carry the flames of war into the Netherlands: and three thousand French protestants joined the prince of Orange, who had now openly embraced the reformed faith, and had undertaken to expel the
May. Spaniards from Belgium. He sent before him his brother Louis of Nassau, who penetrated into the province of Groningen. At first a partial victory cheered him with the hope of more
June 5. decisive success: but Alva marched against him with expedition, burst into his intrenchments,
Aug. and dispersed his army. A few days later Orange with twenty thousand men, crossed the Rhine. But it was in vain that the prince offered battle to his wary antagonist: that he encamped and decamped nine-and-twenty times: the vigilance of the duke was not to be surprised:

[87] Cabala, 113. Davila, 209. Castelnau, l. vi. c. 4.
[88] Benoit, 38. Davila, 224.

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Nov.

and want, mutiny and desertion, compelled the prince to recross the borders, and to disband his army.[89]

Seizure of money going to the duke of Alva.

During these transactions, Elizabeth's ministers had practised their usual policy. In secret they aided the prince of Orange: publicly they maintained the relations of amity with the Spanish monarch.[90] Many of the troops that invaded the Netherlands, had been raised at the instigation of the English agents abroad: many had been paid with English money. But chance supplied an easy means of inflicting a more severe wound on the Spanish interest in Belgium. A squadron of five sail, laden with specie, for the payment of the royal forces, had sailed from Spain: and to escape a hostile fleet belonging to the prince of Condé, had taken refuge in the English ports. After some hesitation, it was

[89] Meteren, 79. Strada, l. vii. Bentivoglio, 86. 91.

[90] Mann was at this time ambassador at the court of Spain. In the beginning of 1568, he was "secluded from the use of his office, "and removed to a village called Bannias, two leagues from Madrid." In June, the queen sent for him home (Murdin, 764, 765.) The cause of this treatment was given out to be the irreverent language which he had used in speaking of the pope. (Camden, 175.) I suspect there was another secret and more important reason. It was at the time of the incarceration of the unfortunate Don Carlos, the son of Philip, whose real history will not be known till the Spanish government shall have allowed the publication of the records in Simancas. From them it will appear, that the prince was charged not only with a design to murder his father, but also with having entered into a treasonable negociation with the English cabinet. In such circumstances it will not appear surprising, if Mann became an object of jealousy to Philip.

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determined to seize the money for the use of the queen, on pretence that it belonged to certain Italian bankers, who had exported it on speculation, and might receive from Elizabeth as high interest, and as certain security as they could obtain in other countries. The remonstrances of the Spanish minister were treated with contempt. But the duke, to revenge himself, seized the goods, and imprisoned the persons, of the English merchants in Flanders: and Elizabeth retaliated on the goods and persons of the Flemish merchants in England. To justify or excuse this proceeding, letters were sent to Philip, who deemed it prudent to connive at what it was not his present interest to resent: but the commerce between the two countries was interrupted; and captures to the prejudice of the merchants were reciprocally made at sea by the Flemish and English cruisers.[91]

Nov. 19.

1569. June 13.

Support given to French huguenots.

The princes of Orange and Condé had constantly acted in concert: and the former had no sooner retreated from Belgium, than the flames of war burst out for the third time in the heart of France. Each party laid the blame on the perfidy of the other: and both the king and the prince sought to strengthen themselves with the aid of foreign powers. Condé, not content with the promises of the prince of

[91] Cabala, 158. 160. Murdin, 766. Camden, 175. Haynes, 501.

Orange, and the offers of the duke of Deux-ponts, dispatched Chastillon, and afterwards Cavagnes, into England. But the disgraceful termination of her former attempt in France had taught Elizabeth a useful lesson; and to overcome her repugnance to join in the present war, it was observed to her, that the cause of the French protestants was her own: that the moment they should be subdued, the queen of Scots would be recognised, by the catholic powers, as queen of England: that she had already transferred her right to the duke of Anjou; that the pope had granted him the investiture of the kingdom; and, what ought to remove every doubt, the command of the army, which should invade England, had been already offered to Condé.[92] What credit the queen gave to these fables is uncertain: but she consented to aid the prince with twenty thousand pounds, and a certain quantity of military stores, and to receive, in return, salt and wine to the same value. The king of France complained that England supplied the wants of his rebellious subjects, and that Norris, the ambassador, was one of the chief instigators of the troubles within his dominions. But the ingenuity of Cecil supplied him with evasions: and Norris was exhorted to persevere in defiance of the

CHAP. I.

Sept. 17.

Oct. 6.

[92] Haynes, 474. The story of the transfer was denied both by Mary and Anjou. Much inquiry was made into it. Cabala, 163, 164.

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remonstrances and threats of the French monarch. The cause of the insurgents met, however, with repeated disappointments. Condé fell in the battle of Jarnac: Dandelot died of an infectious fever: and the admiral Coligni, the chief hope of the huguenots was defeated by the duke of Anjou, at Montcontour. From this period, the queen of England ceased not to exhort both parties to sheath the sword; and a third edict of pacification was published in the course of the following year.[93]

1569. March 14. Oct. 3.

1570. Aug. 5.

How far such perpetual interference of the English government in the internal concerns of foreign states could be justified by the apprehension of future danger, I shall not stop to inquire: but Elizabeth could have no reason to complain, if, after what had passed, the French and Spanish kings should convert her own policy against herself. Hitherto, indeed, they deemed it prudent to dissemble, that they might not, by open hostility, compel her to make common cause with their discontented subjects: but they cherished the recollection of the injuries which they had received, and trusted that the day would come, when they should be able to take just and ample revenge.[94]

[93] Cabala, 152. 154. 155. 165. Murdin, 766.

[94] Dissimulare malebat ne ludibrio esset, ira in tempus dilata. Bomplani Pontificatus Greg. xiii. 235. See also a dispatch of Chateauneuf, in the life of lord Egerton, by F. H. Egerton, p. 69.

CHAP. II.

CONSULTATIONS RESPECTING THE SCOTTISH QUEEN—PENAL LAWS AGAINST THE CATHOLICS—PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE PURITANS—DETECTION OF A CONSPIRACY—TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE DUKE OF NORFOLK—CIVIL WAR IN FRANCE—CIVIL WAR IN THE NETHERLANDS—THE DUKE OF ANJOU ACCEPTS THE SOVEREIGNTY—VISITS THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND—THEY PROMISE TO MARRY EACH OTHER—HIS DEPARTURE AND DEATH—AFFAIRS OF IRELAND.

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Consultations respecting Mary Stuart.

More than two years had elapsed since the arrival of Mary in England: and she was still a captive, still her fate was held in suspense. To indifferent persons, her detention appeared a most cruel and arbitrary measure: by the counsellors of Elizabeth, it was justified on the ground of expediency. They saw that her right to the succession was generally admitted. Should she survive their mistress, they could anticipate nothing but dangers to themselves from her resentment, and danger to the reformed church from her attachment to the ancient worship. It was moreover known, that in the estimation of many she had a better claim to the present possession of the crown than

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Elizabeth herself. If a favourable opportunity were to offer, could it be doubted that the kings of France and Spain, in revenge of the injuries which they had received, and the catholics of England, to relieve themselves from the pressure of persecuting laws, would unite and place her on the English throne. In their opinion, the very existence of the government, and of the established worship, was at stake.[1]

First plan to put her to death.

The shortest and most certain expedient was to go boldly to the root of the evil, and by the death of Mary, to extinguish at once the hopes and the designs of her partisans. This, during several years, was strongly and repeatedly urged by some of the council.[2] If it was rejected by Elizabeth, her repugnance arose less from motives of humanity, than of decency. She was willing that Mary should perish, but was ashamed to imbrue her own hands in the blood of a sister queen. Hence she offered to transfer the royal captive to the hands of the Scottish regent, provided he would give security that she should be removed out of the way: and hence the earl of Shrewsbury was made to engage, that Mary should be put to death on

[1] Such apprehensions perpetually occur in the State Papers of this reign. "Our chief object," says Leicester, "are these two things, "that the queen may be preserved in safety, and the true religion "maintained assuredly." 51.

[2] See Digges, 203. 263. 268, 269. 276. Part of Leicester's letter in Murdin (231.) refers to the same object.

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the very first attempt to rescue her from his custody.[3]

Second, to provide against her claims.

In the supposition that the Scottish queen were suffered to live, the marriage of Elizabeth into the royal house of France had been suggested by Cecil, and was supported by the earl of Sussex.[4] If she had issue, Mary would cease to be the presumptive heir: if she had none, the French monarch would still have a strong interest in maintaining Elizabeth on the throne. Leicester and Hatton, the queen's minions, as they were called, advocated the same opinion in public: in private they whispered, so at least it was said, very different sentiments into the royal ear.[5]

There was another party, consisting of Bromley, Mildmay, Sadler and Sidney, who ridiculed the dangers apprehended by their colleagues and maintained that the queen, by persevering in the conduct which she had hitherto observed, might continue to reign with equal safety and glory. She had only to keep down the discontented at home by the severity of the laws, and to occupy the attention of her enemies abroad by preserving alive the spirit of revolt in their dominions; and she would still be the terror of her own subjects, and the arbitress of the neigh-

[3] Murdin, 224. Lodge, ii. 96.

[4] See his opinion at length in Lodge, ii. 177—186.

[5] Digges, 343. Camden, 276. 322. 329. Lodge, ii. 184.

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bouring powers.[6] In this opinion the other two parties, as long as they could not carry their favourite projects, concurred. But experience proved, that they had to treat with a fickle and obstinate woman, who was swayed as much by passion as by reason; and who, in a sudden fit of pride, or terror, or parsimony, would often break all their measures, and reject their advice.

Negociation with her.

In the autumn of 1570, the solicitations of Mary, the attempts of her friends in England,[7] and the remonstrances of the French and Spanish monarchs, extorted from Elizabeth a promise to fix the conditions, on which her captive might at last be restored to liberty. For this purpose, Cecil and Mildmay repaired to Chatsworth, the prison of the Scottish queen.[8] During the negociation, which continued a fortnight, that princess proved herself a match for these wily and experienced statesmen: but the necessity of her situation compelled her to yield in a manner to all their demands, and to throw herself on the mercy of her English sis-

Oct. 1.

[6] Murdin, 326. 327. 333, 334. Sadler, ii. 563.

[7] Several persons undertook to liberate her from her captivity, among whom were sir Thomas Stanley and sir Edward Stanley, younger sons of the earl of Derby: sir Henry Percy, brother to the earl of Northumberland: sir Thomas Gerard, Rolleston, Hall, Owen, and others. Camden, 216. Murdin, 20—22. 35.

[8] Cecil did not like the appointment. "I am thrown into a maze, "that I know not how to walk from dangers. Sir Walter Mildmay "and I are sent to the Scottish queen. God be our guide: for neither of us like the message." Cabala, 179.

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ter, with respect to those points which bore the hardest on her maternal and religious feelings. Elizabeth professed to be satisfied: the only thing wanting to a complete accord, was the assent of the two parties in Scotland, called the king's and the queen's lords.[9] Their commissioners arrived in London. The first, with Morton at their head, read to Elizabeth, in defence of their proceedings, a long lecture on the abstract right of subjects to depose immoral or lawless sovereigns: a most uncourtly doctrine, to which she listened with an evil grace, and answered with expressions of displeasure. With those of the latter, the chief subjects of discussion, were the securities to be given by the queen of Scots: a discussion which was protracted from day to

1571. Feb. 11. Feb. 28.

March 14.

[9] One of the most singular propositions submitted to Mary was, that she should forbear all claim to the crown of England, "whilest "the queen's majestie and *any issue* to come of her body shall "lyve," so that the queen of Scots should not be deprived of any right of hers "yf God should not give to the queenis majestie *any issue* of her bodye to have continuance." Mary consented, but on condition that in both places the word "lawful" should be inserted before "issue." To this the commissioners demurred: and after a debate of some days it was allowed to stand thus, "any "issue by any lawful husband." Haynes, 608. 614. It is remarkable that Elizabeth would never allow the expression, "heirs "lawfully to be begotten," used in the statute of the first of her reign, to be employed afterwards, but substituted in its place the "natural issue of her body:" and the more remarkable, because she knew of a scandalous report that she had already had two children by Leicester. Only the last August a gentleman, named Marsham, had been tried at Norfolk, for saying, "that my lord "of Leicester had ii childerne by the queene; and was condemned "to lowse bothe his eares, or ells pay c[li] presently." Lodge, ii. 47

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day by the usual irresolution of Elizabeth. On the one hand, she feared to restore to her crown a princess, whom she had so deeply injured; on the other she deemed it dangerous and disgraceful to sanction by her authority, the democratic doctrine of the king's lords. She balanced so long between the two extremes, that her favourite counsellors could not divine the result:[10] she was rescued from this state of suspense by the policy of Cecil, whom she had lately raised to the peerage by the title of baron Burleigh.

Feb. 26.

Unexpectedly interrupted.

The reader will have observed, that in general Elizabeth affected a rooted antipathy to the state of marriage. By some it was ascribed to a resolution never to divide her authority with a husband; by others, to a consciousness of some natural defect; and by a third party, to an unwillingness to be restrained in the enjoyment of her pleasures. Now, however, she listened with apparent pleasure to the suggestion of a marriage with the duke of Anjou: her ambassador received orders to entertain the project, without appearing too anxious for its success: and, in proportion as the prospect grew more flattering, it was observed that the queen's wish for an accord with Mary, gradually cooled. Her counsellors seized the opportunity

[10] "Believe me," says Leicester, "whatever you may hear, "there is no man in England can tell you, which way it will go." Digges, 57.

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to break off the conferences. The commissioners, on the part of the young king, were remanded, on the ground that they had come without sufficient powers: those of Mary were dismissed, with a recommendation to be ready against the return of their adversaries. The whole was an artifice to gain time: if the marriage with Anjou should take place, no accord with Mary would be requisite; if it did not, the treaty might be renewed at the will of Elizabeth.[11]

March 26.

Acts of parliament. April 2.

Scarcely were the commissioners departed, when the parliament commenced. The late occurrences, the rebellion in the north, the publication of the papal bull, and the unlicensed departure from England of the lord Morley and several other gentlemen, suggested to the ministers several new enactments, which had for their chief object to check the boldness of the partisans of Mary, and to cut off the communication between the English catholics and the

[11] In a letter of April 8th, Elizabeth is made to inform Walsingham, that when she "minded to make a final end of the business, "she found that the earl of Morton and his colleagues had no sufficient commission: they therefore go home to obtain one, which "done, she trusts, shortly to make an end of the controversy." Digges, 77. Yet all this is a tissue of falsehood. At the very commencement Morton informed the council, Feb. 19, that he had no power to negociate respecting the restoration of Mary to the royal authority. (Haynes, 623.) And Cecil, on March 24th, and April 7th, told Walsingham, "that it was only devised to win "delay:" and therefore "he must make the best of it, and seek out "reasons to satisfy the French court." Digges, 67. 78.

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court of Rome. The first bill was divided into two parts. By one it was proposed to make it treason in any individual, to claim a right to the crown during the queen's life; or to assert that it belonged to any other person than the queen; or to publish that she was a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper; or to deny that the descent and inheritance of the crown was determinable by the statutes made in parliament: by the other to punish, with one year's imprisonment for the first offence, and with the penalty of præmunire for the second, all persons who should by writing or printing affirm, that any one particular person was the heir of the queen, except the same were "the "natural issue of her body."[12] Another bill enacted the penalties of treason against all persons who should sue for, obtain, or put in ure any bull, writing or instrument from the bishop of Rome, or absolve or be absolved in virtue of such bulls or writings;[13] and the penalties of

Against the catholics.

[12] Incredibile est quos jocos improbi verborum aucupes sibi fecerunt ex clausula illa, præter naturalem ex ipsius corpore sobolem. Camden, 241. The next year she was troubled with fits, which gave rise to conjectures and reports. "I assure you," says Leicester to Walsingham, "it is not as has been reported. Some-"what, indeed, her majesty hath been troubled with a spice or "shew of the mother, but indeed not so. The fits that she hath "had, hath not been above a quarter of an hour: and yet this little "hath bred strange brutes here at home." Digges, 288.

[13] At the last Norfolk assizes three gentlemen were "condemned "to perpetuall imprisonment, with the losse of all their goods and "lands during their lives, for reconsilement." Lodge, ii. 46. A

præmunire against their aiders and abettors, and all others who should introduce, or receive the things called agnus Dei, and crosses, pictures or beads blessed by the bishop of Rome, or others deriving their authority from him: a third compelled all individuals above a certain age, not only to attend the established service, but also to receive the communion after the new form: and a fourth ordered every person who had left, or who should leave the realm, either with or without licence, to return in six months after warning by proclamation, under the penalty of forfeiting his goods and chattels, and the profits of his lands during life to the use of the queen. These bills diffused the most serious alarm through the whole body of the catholics. It was evident that the ministers sought the total extinction of the ancient faith. The catholic lords, a large portion of the house, assembled: they complained that, if the bills passed, they could neither remain within the kingdom, without offence to their consciences, nor leave it without the sacrifice of their fortunes: and they determined to wait in a body on the queen, and present to her a strong but respectful remonstrance. This project was, however, abandoned: but at the same time, the bill respecting the frequentation of com-

man was said to be reconciled, who, after he had gone to the new service, returned to the catholic worship, and received absolution. This religious offence by the new statute was made high treason.

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munion, the most harassing in its probable consequences, was dropped. The other three passed the two houses, and received the royal assent.[14]

The queen's antipathy to the puritans.

But in addition to the catholics, there was another class of religionists, that gave the queen perpetual cause of disquietude. These were the puritans; they derived their origin from some of the exiled ministers, who, during the reign of Mary, had imbibed the opinions of Calvin, and on their return urged the queen to a further reformation. They approved of much that had been done: but they also complained that many things had been left untouched, to which they could not accommodate their consciences. They objected to the superiority of the bishops, and the jurisdiction of the episcopal courts; to the repetition of the Lord's prayer to the responses of the people, and to the reading of the apocryphal lessons in the liturgy; to the sign of the cross in the administration of baptism, and to the ring and the words of the contract in that of marriage; to the observance of festivals, the chaunt of the psalms, and the use of musical instruments in cathedral churches; and above all, to the habits "the very livery of the beast," enjoined to be worn by the ministers during the celebration of the service.[15]

[14] St. 13 Eliz. c. 2. [15] Neal's Puritans, c. iv, v.

It is pretty evident that the queen herself had formed no settled notions of religion. Policy had induced her to adopt the reformed creed: policy equally taught her to repress the zeal or the fanaticism of these ultra-reformers. On the one hand, the less she receded from the ancient model, the more easily would her catholic subjects be brought to conform to the new worship: on the other, there had been much in the previous conduct of the puritans, to wound and alarm her pride and her feelings. They had written against the government of females: they still taught that the church ought to be independent of the state. It was in vain that they offered apologies for the obnoxious works; that they took the oath of supremacy in the sense which she had given to it in her injunctions: though they were secretly supported by the most favoured and powerful of her ministers, she retained to the last a rooted antipathy against their doctrines, an insuperable jealousy of all their proceedings.

The high commission court.

By the assumption of the supremacy it had become the duty of Elizabeth to watch over the purity of doctrine, the maintenance of discipline, and the decency of the public worship: and when it was asked, how a female could execute these functions, or exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the legislature solved the difficulty by enabling her to avail herself of the services of delegates appointed by the crown. These she

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armed with the most formidable and inquisitorial powers. They were authorized to inquire, on the oath of the person accused, and on the oaths of witnesses, of all heretical, erroneous and dangerous opinions; of absence from the established service, and the frequentation of private conventicles; of seditious books and libels against the queen, her magistrates, and ministers; and of adulteries, fornications, and all other offences cognizable by the ecclesiastical law: and to punish the offenders by spiritual censures, by fine, imprisonment and deprivation.[16] The first victims who felt the vengeance of this tribunal, called the high commission court, were the catholics: from the catholics its attention was soon directed to the puritans.

Archbishop Parker, as chief commissioner,
1564. had with the aid of his colleagues compiled certain ordinances respecting the apparel of the clergy, and the order of the service. He undertook the task by command of the queen: but she was advised by the enemies of the measure to refuse her approbation, and the ordi-

[16] Rymer, xvi. 291. 564. Whoever will compare the powers given to this tribunal with those of the inquisition, which Philip II. endeavoured to establish in the Low Countries, will find that the chief difference between the two courts consisted in their names. One was the court of inquisition, the other of high commission. In the first commissions (see one in Strype's Grindal, App. 64.) the power of interrogating the person accused on his oath, was not expressly inserted: yet the judges always attempted it, because they were ordered to inquire "by all ways and means they could devise."

nances were at last published under the more modest title of advertisements. Still, however, she urged the commissioners to the discharge of their duty. Sampson, dean of Christ church, and Humphreys, president of Magdalen college, were imprisoned for their disobedience: thirty-seven out of the London clergy were suspended from the exercise of their functions; and an intimation was given, that unless they conformed within the space of three months, their obstinacy would be visited with the punishment of deprivation.[17]

1567. March 26.

Separation from the established church.

This act of rigour, instead of producing uniformity, led to an open schism. The lay puritans abandoned the churches, and held private meetings for the purpose of religious worship. But "conventicle" came within the jurisdiction of the delegates. More than one hundred persons, apprehended at a meeting in Plumbers' hall, were brought before the high commission court: those who refused to acknowledge their offence, were committed; and of the prisoners, twenty-four men and seven women did not recover their liberty till after the expiration of twelve months. But the experience of ages has shewn that religious opinions are not to be eradicated by severity. If the puritans were silenced in the church, they had still access to the senate; and as soon as the parliament opened, no fewer

Opposition in parliament.

[17] Wilk. Con. iv. 246, 247. Strype's Parker, 158.

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1571. April 6. than seven bills, for a further reformation, were introduced into the lower house. To the queen such conduct appeared an act of high treason against her supremacy: and during the Easter recess, Strickland, the mover of the bills, re-

April 16. ceived an order to withdraw, and to attend the pleasure of the council. After the adjournment, his absence was noticed by his colleagues.

April 20. It was moved that he should be called to the bar of the house, that he might state the reason of his absence: he was not a private individual, but the representative of his constituents: the prohibition which he had received was an injury to the country, a violation of parliamentary privilege: if it was tamely submitted to by the house, it would form a most dangerous precedent: as the queen could not make the law, so she had no right to break it: her prerogative was, indeed, to be maintained, but it should be confined within reasonable limits: that house could determine the right to the crown, certainly it could entertain motions respecting religious ceremonies. Language, so bold and so unusual, electrified the members: the obstinacy of the ministers flinched before the untameable spirit of their opponents: and after a consultation in whispers, the speaker moved that the

April 21. debate should be suspended. The next morning Strickland appeared in his place, and was received with loud congratulations.[18]

[18] D'Ewes's Journal, 156. 175, 176. An act was, however, pass-

This victory was owing to that tone of mind which religious enthusiasm always imparts. It formed a new era in the history of the house of commons. The members learned to cherish their privileges, to think more highly of their own importance, to resist, with greater confidence, the arbitrary pretensions of the crown. Yet it is observable, that these very men, who thus, through religious motives, braved the resentment of their sovereign, possessed, in reality, no notions of religious liberty. When Aglionby, in opposition to the bill for compelling all persons to receive the communion, pleaded the rights of conscience, he was told by some, "that it was no straitening of consciences, but "only a charge on the goods of those who "would not vouchsafe to be, as they should be, "good men and true christians;" by others, that it was the duty of the house to make the law: if men were froward or ignorant, or obstinate, let *them* look to the consequences. They had no one to blame but themselves.[19]

The queen, however, did not suffer her op-

ed, to compel all clergymen to subscribe, and declare their unfeigned assent to the thirty-nine articles. The judges interpreted it to mean all the articles without exception; but the puritans relying on the obvious signification of the words, "all the articles of religion, "which only concern the confession of the true christian faith and "the doctrine of the sacraments," maintained that no assent was required to the articles, which regarded discipline, 13 Eliz. c. 12. See Collier, ii. 530. Neal, c. v.

[19] Ibid. 161. 177.

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ponents to depart without a severe reprimand. On the dissolution of the parliament, the lord keeper, by her command, informed them that their conduct was thought contrary to their duty and their place: that, as they had forgotten themselves, they should be otherwise remembered; and "that the queen's highness "did utterly disallow and condemn their folly, "in meddling with things not appertaining to "them, nor within the capacity of their under-"standings."[20]

Members reprimanded by the queen.

May 29.

Negociation of marriage with Anjou.

In France, an attempt had been made to prevent the projected marriage between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou, by offering to him the captive queen of Scots. But this the prince knew to be an impracticable scheme. Elizabeth presented a fairer prize to his ambition: and, aware of the influence of flattery over her heart, he was careful to inform her of his conviction, "that she was the most perfect beauty that "God had made during the last five hundred "years."[21] The queen was pleased; but irre-

March 23.

solute. She had persuaded her counsellors, perhaps she had persuaded herself, that she was determined to marry: in a few weeks her eagerness had subsided; she now preferred a single life; but was still ready to sacrifice her happiness to the wishes of her people. There

July 7.

was, however, one point on which she would

[20] Ibid. 151. See note (S).

[21] Digges, 101.

not yield: Anjou might become her husband, if he pleased, but he must renounce the catholic, and adopt the reformed worship. This opened a new discussion: while it was yet in progress, she announced her final determination to live and die unmarried; and then, recalling her words, ordered her ambassador to resume the negociation. The leaders of the French protestants forwarded the project with all their influence: Lignerolles, the duke's favourite, and the supposed enemy of the match, was assassinated: and a confident hope was entertained, that the prince, no longer under his influence, would accede to the proposed terms. He replied, however, that his conscience was as tender as the conscience of the queen: and that, in such circumstances, he felt himself bound to refuse, what otherwise it would have been his most ardent wish to obtain. Elizabeth expressed her disappointment in warm and uncourteous language. Perhaps her pride was wounded, for she was now the wooer: perhaps she suspected that, notwithstanding his denial, he gave credit to the scandalous tales of her amours with Leicester and Hatton.[22]

Sept.

Dec. 6.

Dec. 31.

[22] The reader will find abundant authority for this narrative, in the private correspondence of Leicester and Burleigh with the ambassador Walsingham. Digges, 63. 65. 71. 110. 115, 116. 133. 139. 153. 161. 166. Anjou swore, that he gave no credit to dishonourable tales, p. 196. On the reports respecting Leicester and Hatton, see Murdin, 204.

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Treaty of alliance with France.

Painful as this disappointment was to the ministers, they were not left without resource. On the first treaty for the marriage, they had been careful to engraft a second treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between the two crowns: and to this they now clung, as to the last plank, according to their own language, which could save them from destruction. A long negociation ensued: months were employed to decide the insertion or exclusion of a single word; and at length the treaty was concluded to the satisfaction of the English cabinet.[23]

1572. April 22.

Discontent at home.

Their anxiety for this alliance had arisen from their conviction of danger to themselves and to their mistress. It was a period, in which, according to the bishop of Ross, the spirit of discontent and disloyalty pervaded the majority of the nation. All who had held offices under the late queen, from the highest functionary in the state to the petty constable of the village, had been marked out for disgrace

[23] Camden, ii. 265. The great difficulty was, that Elizabeth wished to have inserted in the article, binding the king of France to give her aid in case of invasion, these words, "though the invasion "be made on account of religion." It was objected, that so open an assertion would justly give offence to all catholic sovereigns; and the queen at last accepted the treaty with the following amendment: "in all cases of invasion whatsoever." The king gave, in addition, a written explanation, that invasion on account of religion was comprehended in these words. Digges, 155, et seq. Murdin, 213.

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by the present government. Excluded, as they were, from every place of profit or power, and harassed with petty prosecutions and injuries, they naturally sought either a change of system, or a new sovereign: the young men of good but indigent families, too proud to support themselves by their own industry, and too numerous to obtain civil or military employment under the crown, looked forward to a revolution, as a game in which they had little to risk, and every thing to win: the friends of the queen of Scots, who pitied her misfortunes, and advocated her claim to the succession, aimed at the downfal of a ministry, her ancient and implacable enemies: and many of the catholic gentlemen, daily harassed by the intolerance of the laws, thought it was as well to venture their lives and fortunes in defence of the rights of conscience, as to forfeit their rents and chattels to the queen, and to linger out their existence in a jail.[24] All these wanted but a leader. They looked up to the duke of Norfolk, who was still in confinement; they sought assistance from foreign powers; and they negociated with the Spanish ambassador, who, like the English envoys on the continent, was willing to encourage the hopes, and further the projects, of the malcontents. In April, Bailly, a servant to the queen of Scots, coming from Brussels,

[24] Anderson, iii. 152, 153. Murdin, 215.

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was detained at Dover, as the bearer of a packet of letters, some of which, from the address being written in cipher, had excited suspicion. These, before they reached the council, the bishop of Ross contrived to exchange secretly for others:[25] but Bailly himself was sent to the Tower, and disclosed on the rack that he had received the letters from Rudolphi, formerly an Italian banker in London: and that they contained assurances to the persons to whom they were written, that the duke of Alva approved of the projected invasion of England. Sufficient matter was thus discovered to awaken the vigilance of the ministers, but too little to furnish a clue which might lead to the detection of the conspirators.

Detection of a conspiracy.

In the following August, one Brown, of Shrewsbury, carried to the council a bag of money, which he had received from Higford, secretary to the duke of Norfolk, with orders to deliver it to Bannister, the duke's steward. In it were found letters which proved that the money was destined for the lord Herries, to be applied to the service of the Scottish queen in Scotland. The duke, Higford, Barker, another secretary, Bannister, and the bishop of Ross, were immediately apprehended. Higford

[25] Ross was on the watch. On the first intelligence of the seizure, he obtained the real letters from lord Cobham, to whom they had been delivered, and gave others of an innoxious description in their place. Camden, 234.

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readily answered the interrogatories, and voluntarily pointed out the place where he had secreted papers, which his master had ordered him to destroy.[26] Barker when he had felt, Bannister as soon as he saw, the rack, became equally communicative. From their disclosures, questions were framed and put to the duke: and, as often as he denied the charge made against him, he was shewn the written confessions of his servants, and required to reconcile his denial with their assertions. The bishop of Ross, pleaded, at first, the privilege of an ambassador:[27] when this was refused him, he answered with evasion; but as soon as he perceived that the whole matter was known, he confirmed, by his deposition, the confessions of the other prisoners.

Its object.

From the comparison of all their answers, it appeared that several plans had been in agitation for the release of the Scottish queen; that she had, on different occasions, asked and obtained the advice of the duke of Norfolk; and

[26] He was supposed to have been for some time in the pay of the secretary. In the warrant to the commissioners it is said, "Yow "shall cause them to be putt to the rack, and to find the tast therof, "untill they shall deale more playnly, or untill yow shall thynk "mete." Ellis, ii. 261.

[27] He alleged that in the case of Randolph and Tamworth, who had been proved to have given advice and money to Mary's rebels, that queen, out of respect to their office of ambassadors, had contented herself with ordering them to quit Scotland; he, therefore, expected the same treatment. But Burleigh cut him short by saying, that he must answer, or be put upon the rack. Anderson, iii. 195, 196.

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that the money, lately sent by him to Bannister, had been intrusted to him for her use by the French ambassador. But that which bore the hardest against him, was the mission of Rudolphi to the duke of Alva, the king of Spain, and the Roman pontiff. The two last had long ago made to Mary the offer of their services: but she waited till the interruption of the conferences between her commissioners and those of the regent disappointed her hopes: and then, despairing of redress from the justice of Elizabeth, she gave to Rudolphi, as her ambassador to foreign courts, a letter of instructions, subject to the approval or correction of the duke. From these it appeared, that she despaired of assistance from France during the civil wars which convulsed that kingdom; and had determined to rely on the promises of the king of Spain. That monarch had offered to her don John of Austria as her husband: but she preferred the duke of Norfolk, provided he would agree to restore the catholic faith, and to send her son James to be educated in Spain.[28] Rudolphi found the duke at Howard house, still a prisoner, complaining of the wrongs which he had suffered, and irritated at the refusal of his petition for leave to attend his duty in parliament. The Italian laid before him two pro-

[28] Camden, 235.

jects: one that he should intercept the queen on her way to the house of lords, by the junction of his friends with certain noblemen and knights, of whose names he held a list in his hands: the other that he should agree to assemble the greatest force in his power, and join the duke of Alva, who would land at Harwich with ten thousand veterans. In either case it would be easy to extort from the queen her consent to the removal of her ministers, the marriage of Norfolk with Mary Stuart, and the repeal of those laws which affected the rights of conscience. Norfolk listened to him with patience; and according to the statement of those who had inquired of Rudolphi, with approbation. But some doubt may be thrown on the veracity of the Italian, and some on the credit of the informers. *He* was interested to support the hopes of those whom he had engaged in the plot; *their* depositions were drawn from them, by the promises of life and liberty, by the fear of the rack, and in some instances, by the actual infliction of torture. The duke himself maintained to the last, that the whole conversation between him and Rudolphi was confined to certain pecuniary transactions, and to the policy of procuring from Flanders aid for the Scottish partisans of Mary against her Scottish opponents. The Italian, however, left England, represented himself to the duke of Alva, the pope, and the king of Spain, as the

March 26.

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messenger of Mary and Norfolk, and obtained assurances of support.[29]

Duke of Norfolk condemned.

When the alarm excited by these disclosures had subsided, it was resolved to proceed against the conspirators with the utmost rigour of the law. The duke of Norfolk became the first object of punishment. The obstinacy with which he persevered in seeking the marriage of the queen of Scots, had awakened all the resentment of Elizabeth; and his death was sought by her counsellors as an awful warning to the other friends of that princess. Two months were employed in preparing the public mind for his trial and condemnation. The detail of the treasons imputed to him was communicated to the lord mayor, and through that magistrate to the citizens of London. Publications of similar import were circulated through every part of the kingdom; and the pulpits were made to resound with invectives against him, the duke of Alva, the pope, and all the catholic powers. At length the queen named the earl of Shrewsbury lord high steward, who immediately summoned six-and-twenty peers, selected by the ministers, to attend within two

1572. Jan. 14.

[29] Compare the confessions in Murdin, p. 1—164, with the account given by the bishop of Ross (Anderson, iii. 149—187, and Camden, ii. 227—230. 235—240.) Norfolk had been removed from the Tower, the 4th of August, 1570. But he still remained a prisoner at different houses till September 7th, 1571, when he was sent back to the Tower.

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Jan. 16.

days in Westminster hall.[30] There the duke was charged with imagining and compassing the death of his sovereign: 1°. By seeking to marry the queen of Scots, though he knew that she claimed the crown of England to the exclusion of Elizabeth. 2°. By soliciting, through the agency of Rudolphi, foreign powers to invade the realm. 3°. By sending money to the aid of the English, who were rebels, and of the Scots, who were enemies to the queen. The duke, in his answer maintained his innocence on all the three heads. 1°. The queen of Scots was not the competitor of his sovereign for the English crown. From the moment that she became her own mistress, she had abstained from taking the title of queen of England, and had repeatedly offered to renounce it in ample form,

[30] A few days before, Berners and Mather were apprehended at the instance of Herle, their associate. From their several examinations it appears, that all three were discontented men, who complained that under the existing government, nothing could be obtained by any others than "dancers and carpet knights;" men, such as Leicester and Hatton, who were "admitted to the queen's "privy chamber." They had often conversed on the means by which the duke of Norfolk might be liberated, on the murder of his enemy the lord Burleigh; and on the preferment to be expected under a new sovereign. But there appears no trace of any plot for the actual execution of such purposes. Mather said the death of Burleigh had been proposed to him by the Spanish ambassador. It was denied, and equivalently recalled by himself. Berners and Mather suffered: Herle saved his life by becoming informer: though Mather told him, that if another hour had passed, he himself meant to have informed against Herle and Berners. Murdin, 194—210. Digges, 165. Camden, 254.

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if Elizabeth would acknowledge her undoubted claim to the succession. 2°. He had never spoken with Rudolphi but once; and then he understood that the sole object of the Italian's mission was to procure aid for the Scottish subjects of the Scottish queen. 3°. He had never sent money to the English rebels; and though he had allowed his servant to take the charge of a sum of money for the lord Herries, he conceived that he had done no wrong; for Herries was the devoted servant of Mary, and Mary the acknowledged ally of Elizabeth. On all these points he spoke with temper, decision, and eloquence.[31]

The history of this trial will shew, how difficult it was, according to the jurisprudence of the age, for any prisoner to escape conviction under a prosecution by the crown. The duke of Norfolk had been a close prisoner in the Tower during eighteen weeks. He had been deprived of the use of books, and debarred from all communication with his friends. He received notice of trial, only the evening before his arraignment. He was kept in ignorance of the charges against him, till he heard the indictment from the bar. He was refused the aid of counsel to suggest advice, or to unravel the sophistry of the crown lawyers. *They* came to the cause with the subjects of discussion

[31] Howell's State Trials, i. 957—1042. Camden, 245—254.

prepared and digested; with a voluminous mass of papers, and with notes to aid their memory: he was called to answer, without preparation, to numerous circumstances of persons, places, conversations, and dates, which ran through the space of the three last years. The evidence against him consisted partly of letters, but principally of confessions extorted from the other prisoner, by the pain of the rack, or the hope of life.[32] When he objected to such testimony, he was told that the deponents had sworn to the truth of their answers, and that his bare denial was of no weight in opposition to their oaths. He then demanded that they should be

[32] At the trial the confessions were represented as made voluntarily. Yet sir Thomas Smyth, in a letter of Sept. 17, says, "I "suppose we have gotten so mych at this time as is lyke to be had; "yet to-morrow we do intend to bryng a couple of them to the "rack, not in any hope to get any thyng worthy that payne or "feare, but because it is so earnestly commandid unto us;" and, Sept. 20, "of Banister with the rack; of Barker with the extreme "feare of it, we suppose to have gotten all." Murdin, 95. 101. To prevail on the bishop of Ross to confess, he was promised that his depositions should not be employed against any man; they were required merely to satisfy the queen's own mind; but it was added, that if he refused, he should be most certainly executed. Anderson, iii. 199, 200. 202. Just before the trial, the master of the requests came and required him to be present at the proceedings; he refused, saying, "I never conferred with the duke myself in "any of these matters, but only by his servants, nor yet heard him "speak one word at any time against his duty to his prince or "country: and if I shall be forced to be present, I will publicly "profess before the whole nobility, that he never opened his mouth "maliciously or traitorously against the queen or the realm." Ibid. 229, 230. This design was therefore abandoned: but great use was made of the confessions of the bishop, contrary to the previous promise.

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confronted with him; and appealed to the protection granted to prisoners by the statute of Edward VI.; but it was replied, that that statute "had been found too hard and dangerous "for the prince, and therefore had been re-"pealed." When he again repeated his denial of treason, a message was delivered from the queen, that she had received full confirmation of the charge from a foreign ambassador: but that, as it would be imprudent to disclose it in public, the peers might learn the particulars from their colleagues of the council in private. They retired; the new evidence was laid before them in the absence of the accused: an hour was spent in consultation, and an unanimous verdict of guilty was returned. As soon as judgment had been pronounced, the duke with a firm voice and undaunted countenance replied: "This, my lords, is the judgment of a traitor: "but I shall die as true a man to the queen, "as any liveth. I will not desire you to peti-"tion for my life: you have put me out of your "company, and I trust shortly to be in better "company in heaven. I only beg that the "queen's majesty will be good to my orphan "children, and take orders for the payment of "my debts. God doth know how true a heart "I bare to her and my country, whatsoever "has been this day objected to me. Fare ye "well, my lords." [33]

[31] State Trials, i. 1032,

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Queen hesitates to sign the warrant. Feb. 11.

In the Tower the duke confessed his undutiful conduct to the queen; but still persisted in his denial of treason.[34] On a Saturday Elizabeth signed the warrant, for his execution on the following Monday. Late, however, on the Sunday evening, Burleigh received an order to attend the queen, and found her in great perturbation of mind. She agreed with him that the guilt of the duke was great; that he deserved to die; but then he was the chief of the English nobility; he was allied to her by blood; she could not reconcile herself to his execution; her own happiness required that he should be spared.[35] The warrant was revoked; but the ministers continued to assail her with exaggerated accounts of the danger to be apprehended from her forbearance: the preachers called for vengeance in the name of that nation and religion, which the duke would have enslaved and overthrown; and some of her greatest confidents repeatedly urged her by letter to free herself from one, who, if he were forgiven, would

[34] Murdin, 166. 168. The queen urged him to accuse others. This he refused. In his answer he observed that, if he had been confronted with "the shameless Scot, and Italianified Englishman "(the bishop of Ross and Barker), something might have been "elicited to prove his innocence, and discover unknown danger: "that for himself he was conscious of nothing more than he had "already confessed, and that he trusted that the queen would not "command him to do that (accuse others) which would do her no "service, and yet heap infamy on him." Murdin, 170.

[35] Digges, 165.

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April 9.

probably repay her clemency with ingratitude. Still she hesitated: she again signed the warrant, and again, unable to sleep through anxiety, recalled it at two o'clock in the morning.[36] Leicester ventured to predict, that the life of the duke would yet be saved.[37]

But the death of Norfolk was chiefly desired, as a prelude to the death of a more illustrious victim. The queen was told that she must lay the axe "at the root of the evil:" that till the Scottish queen was consigned to the grave, neither her crown nor her life could be in security. To these suggestions she listened with caution and uneasiness. Could she put to death the bird (such was her expression) that, to escape the pursuit of the hawk, had fled to her feet for protection? Her honour and conscience forbade it. To subdue her repugnance, the crafty Burleigh had recourse to his last expedient, the aid of parliament: the two houses obsequiously pursued the path pointed out by the secretary; and Elizabeth, to silence their murmurs, sub-

[36] Murdin, 177. The note she wrote to Burleigh, who had lately been made lord treasurer, shews the agitation of her mind. "The causes that move me to this are not to bee expressed, least "an irrevocable deed bee in the mean while committed. If they "will needs a warrant (to suspend the execution) let this suffice, all "written with my own hand." Hearne's Sylloge, 182. Ellis, ii. 263.

[37] Digges, 203. The duke in his letters affects to believe Leicester and Burleigh his friends. Leicester seems to have been so: but Burleigh urged his execution. Digges, 165, 166. Murdin, 212. "Your own father was esteemed to be the contriver of Norfolk's "ruin." Raleigh to sir Robert Cecil. Ibid. 811.

mitted to grant one part of their petition. She sacrificed the duke of Norfolk, that she might atone for her irresolution respecting the queen of Scots.

Executed at the petition of parliament. May 16. May 21. May 28.

The commons, having resolved that the life of that unfortunate nobleman was incompatible with the safety of the queen, communicated their opinion to the lords, and then resolved to present a petition to the throne, in strong and fanatical language. But in this stage the proceedings were interrupted by a hint from one of the ministers.[38] The queen had been induced to sign a third time the fatal warrant: it was not revoked: and five months after his condemnation the duke was led to the scaffold, attended by Dr. Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, and Fox the martyrologist, formerly his tutor. He betrayed no symptoms of terror: and in his speech to the spectators, in which he was repeatedly interrupted by the officers, asserted his innocence of treason, and his profession of the reformed faith. His head was struck off at a single blow. The people retired, compassionating his fate, and questioning his guilt.[39]

May 31.

June 2.

The death of the queen of Scots was next

[38] D'Ewes's Journals, 206. 214. 220.

[39] Strype, App. 27. Camden, 255. "I never had conference "but once with one Rodolph, and yet never against the queen's "majesty, God is my judge, although many lewd offers and mo- "tions were made to me. For it is well known I had to do with "him, by reason I was bound to him by recognizance for a great "sum of money." State Trials, i. 1032.

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Queen refuses to put Mary to death.

sought with equal obstinacy. To influence the minds of the members, care had been taken to circulate among them papers of different descriptions, but all tending to the same end: the slanderous publication of Buchanan, printed copies of the supposed letters, and the manuscript opinions of divines, who demonstrated from scripture that it was a duty, of civilians, who proved from the imperial code that it was lawful, and of an unknown casuist, who argued that "it stood not only with justice but with "the honour and safety of Elizabeth," to send
May 19. the Scottish queen to the scaffold.[40] Both houses resolved to proceed against her by bill of at-
May 23. tainder: the queen forbade it: they disobeyed;
May 28. and she repeated the prohibition.[41] Foiled in

[40] The political writings of the age were generally seasoned with a due proportion of religious cant. An instance has been preserved by D'Ewes, in his journals of this parliament. A writing, supposed to have had great influence on the house of commons, proves by five arguments, supported with texts of scripture, that Elizabeth is bound in conscience to put Mary to death: 1°. because the queen of Scots is guilty of adultery, murder, conspiracy, treason, and blasphemy; 2°. because she is an idolater, and leads others to idolatory; 3°. because she was delivered into the hands of Elizabeth by God's providence, for the purpose of punishment; 4°. because rulers are obliged to execute justice impartially; 5°. because it is their duty to preserve the public tranquillity. See it in D'Ewes, p. 207—212.

[41] D'Ewes, 200. 207—224. Burleigh thus expresses his disappointment. "There is in the highest person such slowness in the "offer of surety, and such stay in resolution, as it seemeth God is "not pleased the surety should proceed. Shame doth as much "trouble me as the rest, that all persons shall behold our follies "imputing these lacks and errors, to some of us that are accounted

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this attempt, the ministers adopted another course: they introduced a bill, which by rendering Mary incapable of the succession, secured them from the danger of her resentment, if she should survive the present sovereign. They were, however, opposed by a powerful but invisible counsellor, suspected, though not known, to be the earl of Leicester. The queen interdicted all reference to the inheritance of the crown, and seeing, that in defiance of the message, the bill had passed both houses, she prorogued the parliament.[42] For her own satisfaction, however, she appointed commissioners to lay her complaints before the Scottish queen, who replied that, if she had consented to marry the duke, it had been without any hostile meaning towards her good sister; that her correspondence with Rudolphi had been strictly confined to pecuniary transactions, and that from foreign powers she had never solicited any thing

June 25.

June 30.

"inward counsellors, where indeed the fault is not: and yet they "must be suffered, and be so imputed, for saving the honour of "the highest." May 21. Digges, 203.

[42] See the journals of both houses. In neither of them is any mention of the contents of the bill passed against Mary; but we learn from Burleigh, that it was "a law to make her unable and "unworthy of succession to the crown." He adds, "some here "have, as it seemeth, abused their favour about her majesty to "make herself her most enemy. God amend them! I will not "write to you, who are suspected. I am sorry for them, and so "would you too, if you thought the suspicion to be true." Ibid. 219.

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more than aid for her faithful subjects in Scotland.[43]

Whose party dwindles away in Scotland.

Whatever Elizabeth might think of these answers, the execution of the duke, and the proceedings in parliament, disheartened the friends of Mary in England, while, at the same time, her interest as rapidly declined in her native country. Lennox, the regent, had taken by surprise the castle of Dunbarton, a fortress hitherto esteemed impregnable, and found among the prisoners the archbishop of St. Andrew's, whom he hastily consigned to the gallows, not so much through enmity to the queen, as through hatred of the rival house of Hamilton. The loss of Dunbarton was followed by the submission of most of Mary's adherents; Lennox, in a parliament at Edinburgh, attainted Maitland as privy to the murder of his son, and three of the Hamiltons for their opposition to the authority of the king: and had assembled a second parliament in Stirling; when, unexpectedly, at a very early hour in the morning, Huntley, Claude Hamilton, and Scot of Buccleugh, appeared with four hundred horse before the gate of the town. "Remember the "archbishop," was the word given to the soldiers. In a few minutes all the lords were in

1571. April 2.

April 6.

Sept. 4.

[43] The complaints or charges are in Murdin, 218: the answers in Camden, 260.

the hands of the assailants. Lennox paid the forfeit of his life; the others were rescued by the timely arrival of the earl of Marr, whom, in reward of his services, they invested with the regency. His prudence and vigour rendered him a formidable antagonist: Elizabeth declared openly her intention to support him with the whole power of her crown; and the avowed adherents of Mary dwindled away to a handful of brave and resolute men, who, under Kirkaldy, kept for her the castle of Edinburgh, and a band of Highlanders, who, commanded by sir Adam Gordon, maintained the ascendency of her cause in the mountains.[44]

Sept. 6.

Oct. 23.

To add to the sorrows of the captive queen, the executions of the duke of Norfolk in England, and of the archbishop of St. Andrew's in Scotland, were followed by that of her chivalrous and devoted adherent the earl of Northumberland. Morton, who, during his exile in England, had received many favours from the earl, pretended to be his friend: a negociation was opened between the countess and William Douglas, the keeper of the prisoner: and two thousand pounds, the stipulated price for his ransom, was deposited at Antwerp. Whether it was paid or not, is unknown: but Morton treated, at the same time, with the English

Execution of the earl of Northumberland.

[44] Robertson, App. 2. N°. iv. Bannatyne, 120. 154. 256. Act Parl. iii. 58. Camden, 227. 240.

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government, and accepted from Elizabeth an equal, perhaps a larger, sum. After a confinement of two years and a half, the earl was liberated from the castle of Lochlevin, and conveyed on board a vessel to proceed, he was told, towards Flanders. To his surprise, he soon found himself in the harbour of Berwick; was conducted thence to York, and beheaded without a trial, in virtue of an act of attainder. On the scaffold he refused the aid of the clergyman, professed himself a catholic, and declared that he had satisfactorily answered every charge against him, in his letter to the council.[45]

1572. June.

Aug. 22.

Negociation of marriage with Alençon.

The English cabinet, amid the alarms with which it was continually perplexed, rested with much confidence on the treaty lately concluded with France. To cultivate the friendship between the two crowns, Elizabeth had been advised to listen to a new proposal of marriage, not with her first suitor, the duke of Anjou, but with his younger brother, the duke of Alençon. The former was the leader of the catholic party: the latter was thought to incline to the tenets of protestantism. There were, indeed, two almost insuperable objections; the disparity of age, for the duke was twenty-one years younger than the queen; and the want of attraction in a face which had severely suffered from the small-pox.

1572. Jan. 17.

[45] See the letters of the countess in Murdin, 186—193. Bridgwater's Concertatio, 46—49. Camden, 269. The interrogatories are in Murdin, 219; the earl's answers do not appear.

Still Elizabeth, with her usual irresolution, entertained the project: and her ministers, supported by the French protestants, urged its acceptance.[46] But their hopes were unexpectedly checked by an event which struck with astonishment all the nations of Europe, and which cannot be contemplated without horror at the present day. The reader has already seen that the ambition of the French princes had marshalled, in hostile array, the professors of the old and new doctrines against each other. In the contests which followed, the influence of religious animosity was added to those passions which ordinarily embitter domestic warfare. The most solemn compacts were often broken; outrages the most barbarous were reciprocally perpetrated without remorse: murder was retaliated with murder, massacre with massacre. The king, by the last edict of pacification, had, indeed, sheathed the swords of the two parties: but he had not obliterated the sense of former wrongs, nor appeased the desire of revenge, which still rankled in their breasts. They continued to view each other with aversion and distrust, watchful to anticipate the designs which they attributed to their opponents, and eager, at the first provocation, real or supposed, to free themselves from their enemies.

[46] Digges, 164. 195. 220. 229. 232.

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Massacre of the protestants at Paris.

The young king of Navarre was the nominal, the admiral Colligni, the real leader of the huguenots. He ruled among them as an independent sovereign: and, what chiefly alarmed his opponents, seemed to obtain gradually the ascendency over the mind of Charles. He had come to Paris to assist at the marriage of the
July 22. king of Navarre; and was wounded in two places, by an assassin as he passed through the streets. The public voice attributed the attempt to the duke of Guise, in revenge of the murder of his father at the siege of Orleans: it had proceeded, in reality (and was so suspected by Coligni himself), from Catharine, the queen mother. The wounds were not dangerous: but the huguenot chieftains crowded to his hotel: their threats of vengeance terrified the queen:
Aug. 23. and in a secret council, the king was persuaded to anticipate the bloody and traitorous designs attributed to the friends of the admiral. The
Aug. 24. next morning, by the royal order, the hotel was forced: Coligni and his principal counsellors perished: the populace joined in the work of blood; and every huguenot, or suspected huguenot, who fell in their way, was murdered. Several hours elapsed before order could be restored in the capital: in the provinces the governors, though instructed to prevent similar excesses, had not always the power or the will to check the fury of the people, and the massacre of Paris was imitated in several towns, principally

those in which the passions of the inhabitants were inflamed by the recollection of the barbarities, exercised amongst them by the huguenots during the late wars.[47]

The apology made by Charles.

This bloody tragedy had been planned and executed in Paris, with so much expedition, that its authors had not determined on what ground to justify or palliate their conduct. In the letters written the same evening to the governors of the provinces, and to the ambassadors in foreign courts, it was attributed to the ancient quarrel and insatiate hatred which existed between the princes of Lorrain and the house of Coligni.[48] But, as the duke of Guise refused to take the infamy on himself, the king was obliged to acknowledge in parliament, that he had signed the order for the death of the admiral, and sent in consequence to his ambassadors, new and more detailed instructions. In a long audience, La Motte Fenelon assured Elizabeth, that Charles had conceived no idea of such an event before the preceding evening, when he learned, with alarm and astonishment, that the confidential advisers of the admiral had formed a plan to revenge the attempt made on his life, by surprising the Louvre, making prisoners of the

[47] See note (T).

[48] Digges, 264. Ceulx de la maison de Guise, et les aultres seigneurs et gentils hommes, qui leur adherent, ayant seu certainment, que les amis dudit admiral vouloient poursuivre sur eulx la vengeance de ceste blessure pour les soupçonner, à ceste cause et occasion se sont si fort esmus ceste nuit passé, &c. Letter to Joyeuse, apud Caveirac, xxxii.

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king and the royal family, and putting to death the duke of Guise, and the leaders of the catholics; that the plot was revealed to one of the council, whose conscience revolted from such a crime: that his deposition was confirmed in the mind of the king, by the violent and undutiful expressions uttered by Coligni in the royal presence: that, having but the interval of a few hours to deliberate, he had hastily given permission to the duke of Guise and his friends to execute justice on his and their enemies; and that if, from the excited passions of the populace, some innocent persons had perished with the guilty, it had been done contrary to his intention, and had given him the most heartfelt sorrow. The insinuating eloquence of Fenelon made an impression on the mind of Elizabeth: she ordered her ambassador to thank Charles for the communication; trusted that he would be able to satisfy the world of the uprightness of his intention: and recommended to his protection the persons and worship of the French protestants. To the last point Catharine shrewdly replied, that her son could not follow a better example than that of his good sister the queen of England: that, like her, he would force no man's conscience; but like her, he would prohibit in his dominions, the exercise of every other worship besides that which he practised himself.[49]

[49] Digges, 244. 246.

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The news of this sanguinary transaction, exaggerated as it was by the imagination of the narrators, and the arts of politicians, excited thoughout England one general feeling of horror. It served to confirm, in the minds of the protestants, the reports, so industriously spread, of a catholic conspiracy for their destruction; and it gave additional weight to the arguments of Burleigh and the other enemies of the queen of Scots. They admonished Elizabeth to provide for her own security; the French protestants had been massacred; her deposition or murder would follow. If she tendered her own life, the weal of the realm, or the interest of religion, let her disappoint the malice of her enemies, by putting to death her rival, and their ally, Mary Stuart. The queen did not reject their advice: but that she might escape the infamy of dipping her hands in the blood of her nearest relative, and presumptive heir, Killegrew was dispatched to Edinburgh, ostensibly to hasten the accord between the regent and Mary's adherents in the castle, in reality "uppon "singular trust, and a matter of farr greter mo- "ment, wherin all secresy and circumspection "was to be used." That matter was to procure the death of the Scottish queen by the hands of her own subjects. But he was warned not to commit his sovereign, as if the proposal came from her. He was to assure himself of the real disposition of the regent, of the earl of Morton,

Elizabeth offers to deliver up Mary.

1572. Sept. 10.

CHAP. II.

and the other lords; to earn the confidence of those whom he found most apt; to lament before them, that Mary was not where she might be justly executed for her crimes; and to work on their hopes and fears, till he should draw from them some expression, which might lead him to suggest the object of his mission, but as of himself, and merely as a passing thought. If it were entertained, he was authorized to negociate a treaty on the following basis; that Elizabeth should deliver Mary to the king's lords, "to receave that she had de- "served ther by ordre of justice;" and that they should deliver their children, or nearest kinsmen, to Elizabeth, as securities, "that no furder "perill should ensue by hir escapying, or set- "ting hyr up agen: for otherwise to have hir "and to keep hir was over all other things the "most dangerous."[50]

But the regent dies.

Such was the delicate and important trust confided to the prudence and fidelity of Killegrew. If we may believe him, his heart revolted from the commission; though his fear of the royal displeasure compelled him to accept it. But the regent Marr was not of a character to pander to the jealousies or resentments of the English queen. His object was to heal the

[50] See his secret instructions in Murdin, 224. It is observable that Killegrew was dispatched Sept. 7, (Lodge, ii. 75.) and that these secret instructions were sent after him, as they are dated three days later.

wounds of his unhappy country, and to rally all true Scotsmen round the standard of his royal pupil, on the ground that, if Mary should ever recover her liberty, the mother and son might easily reconcile their respective interests. With this view he had sent back to England Randolph, the late envoy, whose policy it had been to perpetuate dissension, by tampering at the same time with the two opposite parties; and he now concluded, with the queen's lords, a private treaty for the surrender of the castle of Edinburgh. While arrangements were making for its publication and execution, he visited the earl of Morton at Dalkeith. Here he felt himself suddenly indisposed; rode immediately to Stirling, and in a few days expired. His friends attributed his death to poison.[51] CHAP. II. Oct. 8.

At the election of the next regent, Killegrew employed the English interest in favour of Morton, the most determined enemy of Mary, and the tried friend of the English ministers.[52] The moment he was chosen, he pursued a very different policy from that of his predecessor. Having prevailed, through the persuasion of Eliza- Morton succeeds. Nov. 9.

[51] Bannatyne, 111.

[52] Curante in primis Elizabetha suffectus erat. Camden, 278. In what manner Killegrew executed his commission with Morton, we know not: but it appears that as late as Jan. 11, 1573, the project was not abandoned. In the instructions to the earl of Worcester, dated that day, he is provided with an answer, if the king of France should apply either in behalf of her *life* or her freedom. Digges, 713.

CHAP. II.

beth, on the Hamiltons and Gordons to acknowledge his authority, he demanded the unconditional surrender of the castle of Edinburgh. Kirkaldy, Hume and Maitland, the lords who held it, refused to place themselves at the mercy of their enemies: and Drury, marshal of Berwick, arrived in the port of Leith with an English army, and a battering train, to enforce submission. It was in vain that the besieged by a messenger, and Mary by her ambassador, solicited aid in men and money from the French king. Charles replied, that circumstances compelled him to refuse the request. Should he grant it, Elizabeth would immediately send a fleet to the relief of La Rochelle.[53]

1573. Feb. 23.

April 25.

And reduces the castle of Edinburgh. June 9.

After a siege of thirty-four days the castle was surrendered to Drury and the queen of England, on condition that the fate of the prisoners should be at her disposal. She ordered both to be delivered to the regent;[54] and in a few days Maitland died of poison: whether it was administered to him by order of Morton, as the queen of Scots asserts,[55] or had been taken by himself to elude the malice of his enemies. His gallant associate Kirkaldy suffered soon afterwards the punishment of a traitor.[56] The latter was

Aug. 3.

[53] Melville, 119, 120. Murdin, 244. 246—254.

[54] Lodge, ii. 106. Camden, 282.

[55] Mary's letter in Blackwood, apud Jebb, ii. 268.

[56] One hundred persons of the family of Kirkaldy, to save the life of their chieftain, offered to Morton £20,000 Scots, an annuity

CHAP. II.

esteemed the best soldier, the former the most able statesman, in Scotland: but both, according to the fashion of the age, had repeatedly veered from one party to the other, without regard to honesty or loyalty; and Maitland had been justly attainted by parliament as an accomplice in the murder of Darnley.[57]

Siege of La Rochelle.

The late massacre in France had caused many of the protestants to cross the eastern frontier into Germany and Switzerland: others, from the western coast, had sought an asylum in England; while the inhabitants of Poitou and the neighbouring provinces poured with their ministers into La Rochelle. The place, strong by nature, was still more strengthened by art. The enthusiasm of the townsmen taught them to despise the efforts of the besiegers under the duke of Anjou; but their chief reliance was on the fleet, which the count of Montgomery had collected in the harbours of Plymouth and Falmouth, and on the promises of aid which that nobleman had received from the English

Feb. 25.

of 3000 marks, and their services as his retainers for life. Camden, 282.

[57] Maitland, after his attainder, complained in a letter to the laird of Carmichael, that the sentence had been procured by Morton, "for a crime, whereof," says the ex-secretary, "he knows in his "conscience, that I was as innocent as himself." Morton replies, —"That I know him innocent in my conscience as myself! The "contrary thereof is true. For I was and am innocent thereof: but I "could not affirm the same of him, considering what I understand "of that matter of his own confession, of before, to myself." Dalzell, 474—480. The truth is, both were guilty.

CHAP. II.

council. Charles indulged a hope that he might deprive them of this resource. He observed, that Elizabeth had always spoken of the late transaction in milder terms than her advisers: she had recently sent the earl of Worcester to present a font of gold, and to answer, as her proxy, at the christening of his daughter; and she was highly exasperated by the insolence of the insurgents, whose cruisers had attempted to intercept that nobleman, and had actually captured some of his retinue.[58] At the solicitation of Gondi, the French envoy, she promised that no money should be advanced in England for the aid of the Rochellois: but when he demanded the dispersion of the fleet at Plymouth, he received for answer, that Englishmen had a right to traffic where they pleased; and that if they abused that right for other purposes, they might be treated as pirates by the prince whom they had offended. This evasion, suggested by the ministers, proved the connexion between them and the insurgents.

April 19. Montgomery sailed; was terrified at the sight of the French fleet, moored under the protection of forts and batteries; and after a useless cruise of a few days returned to England. His failure made the queen repent that she had not acceded to the request of Gondi. She acquainted Montgomery with her displeasure, that he had

[58] Camden, 275.

CHAP. II.

presumed to unfurl the English flag; and for some time refused him permission to anchor in any of her ports. The English adventurers who had accompanied him, immediately dispersed.[59]

League of the French protestants. July.

Rochelle was saved by the election of the duke of Anjou to the throne of Poland. His labours to effect a pacification proved successful; but the huguenots, still jealous of the designs of the court, formed a new confederacy at Milliau, in Rouvergne, by which they bound themselves to each other by the most solemn engagements, appointed counsellors and commanders, determined the quota of men and money to be raised in each district, and established an independent republic in the very heart of France.[60] At the same time another association of catholic noblemen, called the malcontents and politicians, was effected by the chiefs of the house of Montmorenci, whose object it was to remove their rival, the duke of Guise, from court, and to weaken the authority of the queen mother in the royal councils. The two parties acted in concert; and another civil war commenced. In all these transactions the English ambassador bore, as usual, an important, though clandestine part. He advised and engaged the duke of Alençon to put himself at the head of the malcontents.[61] But the project was de-

Dec. 16.

[59] Ibid. 276. Daniel, x. 517. [60] Davila, 366.

[61] The queen is reminded "that the duke of Alanzon was brought

CHAP. II.

tected by the court; and the duke, with the king of Navarre, was so narrowly watched, that no less than four attempts to effect their enlargement failed of success.[62]

Succession of Henry III. 1574. May 30.

The unexpected death of Charles IX. recalled the king of Poland to France. Henry III., from the share which, as duke of Anjou, he had borne in the massacre, was an object of hatred to the

1575. Feb.

protestants: a conspiracy to murder him in his carriage, was detected: and the duke of Alençon, whom the event would have raised to the throne, confessed that he had been privy, though he had not consented, to the treasonable attempt. He was pardoned, but detained in free custody Some months later, having escaped from the court, he raised the standard of revolt: and Eli-

Sept. 15.

zabeth, though she renewed the treaty of Blois (a treaty offensive and defensive between the two crowns), advanced a considerable sum, to raise an army of German protestants for his service. It was not long before the king of Navarre also eluded the vigilance of his guards: and the two princes jointly solicited the queen of England to declare publicly in their favour. The question of war was seriously debated in the English cabinet; but the friends of peace formed

1567. March 30.

the majority; and Elizabeth offered herself as mediatrix between the king of France and his

"to be awtor of troubles in his own countrye, by her majestie's "means." Murdin, 338.

[62] Murdin, 775. Camden, 289, 290. Daniel, x. 539.

CHAP. II.

revolted subjects. Her efforts were seconded by the duke, who had grown jealous of the superior influence of the king of Navarre: and a treaty was concluded, by which the public exercise of the reformed worship was permitted, with a few restrictions: an assembly of the states was promised for the future regulation of the kingdom: and Alençon obtained the appanage which had been enjoyed by his elder brother, and from that period assumed the title of duke of Anjou.[63] May 14.

League of the French catholics.

The French catholics, however, resolved to profit from the example of their opponents. In imitation of the confederacy formed at Milliau, a league was devised, the subscribers of which bound themselves to maintain the ascendency of the ancient faith, and to protect, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, the catholic worship, the clergy and the churches, against the hostile attempts of their enemies.[64] To Henry, each of these associations appeared an encroachment on the royal prerogative; but his situation left him only a choice between the two. He placed his name at the head of the catholic league: the majority of the deputies to the assembly of the states followed the example of their sovereign; and, at their petition, most of the privileges granted to the protestants by the last edict were annulled. Another religious war ensued: it was 1577. Feb.

[63] Davila, 393. Lodge, ii. 135. 142. Murdin, 288, 289. 776. 778. Camden, 303.

[64] See it in Daniel. xi. 62.

CHAP. II.

terminated, as usual, by a short-lived peace; and the protestants ultimately recovered the chief of those concessions which had been revoked.

Sept.

Discontent in the Netherlands.

But it is now time that the reader should cast his eyes over the northern frontier of France, and survey the convulsed state of the Netherlands. The reader will recollect the seizure by Elizabeth of the money destined for the pay of the army under the duke of Alva. That unfriendly measure had been productive of more important consequences, than its advisers could

1570

have dared to expect. The Spanish soldiers, without pay, lived at free quarters on the inhabitants. The duke, to raise money, required the imposition of new taxes; and, on the refusal of the states, he published an edict, imposing them by his own authority as representative of the king. This arbitrary act, subversive of the most valuable rights of the nation, filled up, in the estimation of the Flemish people, the measure of their grievances. They closed their shops: the usual transactions of trade were interrupted: the markets remained empty: and in the most populous towns a general gloom prevailed, indicative of the discontent of the inhabitants, and ominous of subsequent calamities.[65]

Origin of Belgian independence.

A number of small vessels had been successively equipped by the Belgian malcontents, to

[65] Bentivoglio, 92. Strada, l. vii. anno 1570.

CHAP. II.

cruise against the trade of Spain. Their commanders received commissions from the prince of Orange, and obeyed the immediate orders of the count of La Marque, who had fixed his head quarters at Dover, and thence directed the operations of the fleet. At length Elizabeth, either at the remonstrance of Philip, or in connivance with La Marque, ordered that officer to quit her dominions.[66] He sailed to the island of Horn, surprised the fortress of Brille, and planted on its walls the standard of Belgian independence. His success encouraged the inhabitants of Flushing to expel the Spanish garrison, and to solicit aid both from the French protestants and the English council. The former sent them a large body of men; the latter supplied them with 10,000*l.*, and permitted Thomas Morgan to take with him three hundred volunteers, who were soon followed by nine companies of foot, under sir Humphrey Gilbert. Encouraged by the presence of these foreigners, many of the towns in Holland and Zealand threw off the Spanish yoke.[67]

1572. Feb. 21. March.

This insurrection, and the advice of the admiral Coligni, during the pacification in France, induced the prince of Orange to make another attempt to drive the Spaniards out of the Netherlands. His brother Louis had, with the aid of the French huguenots, surprised and garrisoned

Prince of Orange made stadtholder.

[66] Murdin, 210.

[67] Bentivoglio, 102. 106.

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1572. Sept. Oct.

Mons, the capital of Hainault. Alva sat down before it with his army: and the prince led twenty thousand Frenchmen and Germans to raise the siege. Mons, however, surrendered: but Orange succeeded in penetrating as far as Enchuysen, where he was received with applause by the inhabitants of Holland and Zealand, and appointed stadtholder of the two provinces.[68]

The reader will have observed much inconsistency in the transactions of the English government with the kings of France and Spain. It arose from the different opinions entertained by the queen, and the majority of her counsellors. *Their* chief object was the ascendency of the protestant cause in the catholic kingdoms. For this purpose they maintained a constant correspondence with the chiefs of the protestant insurgents, and sought to render them independent of their respective sovereigns, both in the Netherlands and France. But Elizabeth was a sovereign herself: though she approved of their views, she deemed it a duty to uphold the rights and prerogatives of thrones, and feared that the precedent of successful rebellion might one day be retorted against herself. Hence each vicissitude of fortune experienced by the insurgents abroad, produced a change of measures in the queen's council at home. Sometimes she was induced to sacrifice her feelings to the repre-

[68] Bentivoglio, 110—124. Strada, l. vii.

sentations of her ministers: often she compelled the ministers to submit to her will in opposition to their own judgment.

Reconciliation between Elizabeth and Alva.

From the moment that the prince of Orange assumed the government of Holland and Zealand, Elizabeth began to view his designs with jealousy and distrust. She was aware that his private interests, and his intimate connexion with the huguenots, would induce him to seek aid from France; she believed that Henry III. would grasp at the opportunity of an expedition into the Netherlands, as an expedient to establish tranquillity within his own dominions; and she dreaded the annexation of the seventeen provinces to France, as pregnant with danger to the commerce and independence of England. Indications were given of a partiality to the cause of Spain: the English forces were recalled from Flushing,[69] and Guavez, the envoy of Alva, was admitted to treat with the lord treasurer. These ministers soon came to a conclusion. Having declared that the ancient friendship between the two crowns, though it had been for a time impaired, had never been broken, they agreed that the commerce between England and the Netherlands should be restored, that Elizabeth should satisfy the Italian bankers, the original owners of the money, which had been

1572. Nov. 24.

1573. May 1.

[69] It would appear that Flushing was as unhealthy then as of late years. "All our men be come from Flushing, either before, "or at, or since their returning, the most part all sick." Digges, 299.

CHAP. II.

intercepted; and that commissioners should be appointed on both sides to determine, within two years, the demands of those, who had suffered by the arrests of merchandise in each country.[70]

By this time Alva had been recalled, and was succeeded by Requesens, commendator of Castile, who, though he possessed not the martial abilities of his predecessor, inflicted severe injuries on the insurgents, and sought by condescension to sooth the discontent of the people. He cultivated with assiduity the friendship of Elizabeth; and, while at her request he expelled the English exiles from the provinces, and dissolved the seminary established by the English catholics at Douay, he obtained from her an order for the arrest of all armed vessels belonging to the insurgents in her dominions, and for their future exclusion from the English ports.[71]

1574.

She refuses the offer of the states.

The queen had now adopted a new line of policy. She had hitherto consented to foment, at present she laboured to compose, the differences between Philip and his revolted subjects; and the king at her solicitation, agreed to an armistice, preparatory to an intended negociation.[72] But the prince of Orange persisted in rejecting both her advice and her remonstrances, till the revival of the civil wars in France extin-

Oct. 18.

[70] Murdin, 773, 774. Camden, 272.
[71] Camden, 295, 296.
[72] Murdin, 239. 777.

CHAP. II.

guished the hope of aid from that country, and convinced him that the friendship of Elizabeth was his last and best resource. Three deputies were accordingly sent to England, not to announce his willingness to an accommodation with Philip, but to offer the sovereignty, and, if that were refused, the protectorship of Holland and Zealand to the queen, as the representative of their ancient princes by her descent from Philippa of Hainault, the consort of Edward III. At first the offer flattered her pride and ambition: soon, however, her resolution began to waver. Could she sanction this transfer of allegiance from one prince to another without injury to her reputation, or danger to herself? She asked the advice of her counsellors, and the diversity of their opinions added to her perplexity. It was observed that she grew taciturn and peevish: the amusements of the court were suspended; and day after day was employed in secret consultation. The result was a communication to the deputies, that the queen could not in honour or conscience accept their offer, but that she would employ her best services to reconcile them with their sovereign.[73]

1576. January.

Requesens soon afterwards died, and the government devolved on the council of state. No provision had been made for the payment of the troops: they mutinied, lived at free quarters

But at last consents to give them aid.

Feb. 11.

[73] Camden, 297—299. Murdin, 778. Lodge ii. 136.

CHAP. II.

on the natives, and by the sack of Antwerp compelled the states to provide for their own security. The representatives of the seventeen provinces, with the exception of Luxemburgh, concluded a confederacy, by which they bound themselves to concur in expelling all foreign soldiers, to prevent any innovations in religion, either in the fifteen catholic or two reformed provinces, and to restore to its pristine vigour the constitution enjoyed by their fathers. Within a few months a new governor arrived, John of Austria, the illegitimate son of the late emperor Charles V. That young prince came to the Netherlands encircled with the laurels, which he had gained from the Turks in the great battle of Lepanto: but the jealousy of the states compelled him to submit to the conditions which they dictated, and for a while he consented to hold the title, though he possessed little of the authority of governor. To revenge a real or pretended conspiracy against his life, he suddenly took possession of the citadel of Namur: and the states, by the persuasion of the prince of Orange, immediately prepared for war. Elizabeth dispatched ambassadors to both parties; she sought to preserve peace: but evidently preferred the cause of the royalists, till she received from the prince of Orange the important information, that the real object of don John was not so much the subjugation of the Netherlands as of England: that he intended to trans-

Nov. 8.

1577. Feb. 18.

port his army from the Belgian ports; to marry, at least by proxy, the queen of Scots: and in her name, and with the aid of her friends, to contend on English ground for the English crown. This intelligence was not entirely devoid of foundation. Gregory XIII., the successor of Pius V., had solicited the king of Spain to unite with him in an attempt to liberate the Scottish queen, and to restore the catholic worship in England. Philip refused to act openly, but had no objection to supply money, and to connive at the co-operation of his brother don John. It was then agreed that the pontiff should collect an army of six thousand disciplined troops, under the pretence of aiding the knights of Malta: that Sanders and others should pass from the Low Countries into England, to form a party previously to the invasion; that on the arrival of the expedition on the English coast, it should be joined by don John with his army, and that the first object of this combined force should be to obtain possession of Mary, and to effect her marriage with the Spanish prince.[74] But this project existed only

[74] Becchetti, xii. 220, 221. Strada, l. viii. anno 1576. "E quando "cio non si potesse ottenere, si facesse opera di creare e gridare re "publicamente il fratello del conté di Vincton, uomo di fede sin- "cera, ed accetto a quei popoli." Maffei, Annali di Gregorio XIII. l. v. N°. 26. See also Bomplani, Hist. Pontificatûs Gregorii XIII. p. 236. Of this design to marry the brother of the marquess of Winchester to Mary, and to proclaim them king and queen, I have found no notice in our historians.

CHAP. II.

on paper: don John, who to satisfy the states had deprived himself of his army, possessed at first no footing in the Netherlands besides the fortress of Namur, and afterwards, from his incessant hostilities with the insurgents, was too actively employed at home, to think of an invasion of England. The intelligence, however, served to awaken all those jealousies which had been lulled asleep. Elizabeth was beset with apprehensions from the intrigues of the Scottish queen in England, the restoration of the Spanish authority in the Netherlands, and the ambition both of the French monarch, and of his brother the duke of Anjou. Her fears induced her again

Sept. 21.

to espouse the cause of the insurgents. A loan for their use was negociated in London; an army of Germans, which under the duke Casimir was marching to their assistance, was taken into English pay; and at last an alliance offensive and defensive was concluded with them at Brussels. To excuse these hostile proceedings

Dec. 22.

to others, perhaps to herself, the queen assured the Spanish monarch, that she had no other object in view but his interest and her own security; to preserve the Netherlands from French invasion, and herself from the hostility of his brother; that she had exacted from the Belgians a promise to persevere in their allegiance to the Spanish crown, and that she was determined to turn her arms against them, if they should ever violate that promise. Philip, master-

ing his feelings, affected to believe her protestations, and expressed a hope, that through her mediation, peace might yet be restored.[75]

The states make an offer to the duke of Anjou. 1578. Jan. 31.

Don John, on the arrival of the celebrated Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, with an army of Spaniards, resumed offensive operations, and by the decisive victory of Gemblours, spread consternation through every province of the union. The states applied for immediate aid to the German princes, the queen of England, and the duke of Anjou. That turbulent prince received the deputies with pleasure, and agreed to lead an army into the Netherlands, on condition that certain places in Hainault and Artois should be delivered into his hands, and that all his conquests on the south bank of the Meuse should form an independent state for himself. Casimir passed the Rhine with a force of Germans, which, with the aid of English gold, he had raised to some thousands above the stipulated number: but the majority of his followers were protestants; and the native protestants, finding themselves become more powerful by the accession of the strangers, indulged in the fanaticism of the age; and, in numerous instances, abolished the catholic worship, and inflicted the severest privations on their catholic countrymen. The Walloons were the first to complain. They had only exchanged the ty-

[75] Camden, 311—315. Murdin, 290, 291. 779, 780.

CHAP. II.

ranny of the Spaniards for that of their associates and foreigners. Why should they not return to the obedience of their lawful sovereign, and obtain from him the restoration of their privileges, and the protection of their religion? Don John profited by these sentiments, and recovered their allegiance. When Casimir approached the Spanish lines, he dared not attempt to force them: and when Anjou appeared at the head of ten thousand men, the Walloons, who had previously engaged to receive him, opposed his advance. He took, indeed, Binch by assault, and prevailed on Maubeuge to open its gates. But this was the termination of his campaign. Probably he found himself unable to persevere in his career: but he ascribed his forbearance to his deference for the queen of England, to whose hand he still aspired, and whose jealousy of the designs of the French court, induced her to object to the presence of a French army in the Netherlands.[76]

Oct. 7.

He sends Simier with proposals of marriage to the queen.

During the summer he had, by several messengers, sounded the disposition of the queen, who returned encouraging, yet indeterminate answers. The duke now sent Simier, a nobleman versed in intrigue, and excelling in the accomplishments of a court. Though Elizabeth expressed her displeasure at his arrival, he soon overcame her dislike. His manners, his wit,

[76] Strada, l. ix. x. xi. Bentivoglio, 246—253. Murdin, 317.

CHAP. II.

1579. Feb. 13.

and his gallantry, made an irresistible impression. He was admitted to her company three or four days in the week; and it was observed that she never appeared so cheerful and happy as when he was present.[77] Her counsellors imagined that she revealed to him secrets of state: and the tongue of slander whispered some suspicion of the innocence of their meetings.[78] This, however, is certain, that Simier wooed successfully for his master. He first persuaded Elizabeth, that it was beneath her dignity to take for her husband Leicester, a man who owed whatever he possessed to her bounty: and then gave her the important information, that her favourite had recently married without her knowledge, the widow of the late earl of Essex. Leicester let fall some hints of vengeance; but the irritated queen ordered him to be confined at Greenwich, and severely prohibited any kind of insult to the French envoy.[79] Simier next urged the suit of Anjou. The queen listened to him with apparent satisfaction; though at the same time she declared her determination never to

[77] Murdin, 318. He was "amatoriis levitatibus, facetiis, et aulicis illecebris exquisite eruditus." Camden, 322.

[78] "Vous aviez non seullement engasgé votre honneur auveques "un estrangier nommé Simier, l'alant trouver de nuit en la cham- "bre d'une dame, ou vous le baisiez et usiez auvec luy de diverses "privaultés deshonnestes: mais aussi luy reveliez les segretz du "royaulme, trahisant vos propres conseillers." Mary's account to Elizabeth of the conversation of lady Shrewsbury. Murdin, 559.

[79] Camden, 328, 329.

CHAP. II.

marry a man whom she had not seen. It was in vain that the clergy ventured to condemn the intended match from the pulpit; they were silenced by authority;[60] a preparatory treaty was negociated and concluded; and the duke himself, travelling in disguise, without previous notice arrived at Greenwich. Elizabeth was surprised and gratified: his youth, gaiety, and attention, atoned for the scars with which the small pox had furrowed his countenance; and after a courtship of a few days, he departed with the most flattering expectations of success. At the royal command, the lords of the council assembled: they deliberated the greater part of the week; but unable to agree, they waited on their sovereign, requesting to be made acquainted with her inclination, and promising, whatever it might be, to further it to the best of their power.[61] The love-sick queen burst into tears. She had expected, she said, that they would have unanimously petitioned her to marry; but she was simple, indeed, to confide

April 4.

June 16.

Sept.

Oct. 2.

Oct. 7.

[60] Lodge, ii. 212. Bets were laid in London, two to one that the duke did not come, three to one that the queen did not marry him. Ibid. 217.

[61] Sussex, Burleigh, and Hunsdon urged the marriage. Leicester and Hatton joined them at first, but went over to their opponents, Bromley, Mildmay, and Sadler. The chief arguments of the latter were the danger to religion from a catholic husband, the offence of God, if he were allowed to have mass, even in private, the danger to the queen's life if, at that age, she should have issue, and the inutility of the marriage, if she had not. Murdin, 321—336. Sadler, ii. 570.

CHAP. II.

so delicate a matter to such counsellors; they might depart, and come again, when her mind should be more composed. That afternoon and the next day, she vented, in bitter and vituperative language, her displeasure against the supposed adversaries of the marriage: the council hastened to commence a negociation with Simier: and a preliminary treaty was, after some hesitation, concluded.[82]

The treaty is concluded. Nov. 24.

In less than two months, the queen had changed her mind. Nothing less could be expected from the fickleness of her disposition: but she laid the blame on the new troubles which had arisen in France. The protestants had again taken up arms; the civil war raged in most of the provinces; and the duke of Anjou saw himself deprived of his resources for the projected conquest of Flanders. By his endeavours, tranquillity was once more restored in France; and the queen again expressed her readiness to receive his addresses. A splendid embassy arrived; the articles concluded with Simier were put in the form of a treaty between England and France; and it was fixed that the marriage should be contracted within six weeks; but with a provision, that either party should be at liberty to recede, if certain matters should not be accorded within the stipulated time, to their mutual satisfaction. The events which

But the celebration of the marriage postponed.

1581. April 24.

June 11.

[82] Murdin, 337. Digges, 350.

CHAP. II.

followed, afforded the queen new pretexts for delay.[83]

Anjou accepts the sovereignty of the provinces. 1578. Oct. 1.

By the death of don John, the government of the Netherlands had devolved on the prince of Parma;[84] and his continued success had urged the states to the most decisive measures. After a long conflict between terror and duty, they assented to the suggestion of the prince of Orange; and having, by a public instrument, declared that Philip had forfeited his right to the sovereignty of the country, elected in his place Francis of Valois, duke of Anjou. St. Aldegond was dispatched with the intelligence

1581. July 27.

[83] Digges, 349, 350. Camden, 372, 373.

[84] In September, Egremont Ratcliffe, and another English gentleman of the name of Gray, were executed in the market-place of Namur. Ratcliffe was brother to the earl of Sussex, and had been attainted for his share in the northern rebellion. He lived for some years abroad, on the bounty of the king of Spain, ventured back into England, in 1576, and was thrown into the Tower. On what terms he obtained permission to return to Flanders in 1577, we are ignorant. But there are several letters from him in Strype, in which he offers to expose himself to any danger, in the queen's service, on condition of pardon. Strype, ii. 495—498 His escape from the death which threatened him, excited suspicion: a letter from Paris accused him of treason; and being tortured with his companion Gray, he confessed that Walsingham had obtained for him a pardon, on condition that he would murder don Juan. "El Reclif dixo, "que estando preso en la torre de Londres el señor de Walsingham "le persuadio con grandes promesas que matase a don Juan." Herrera, ii. 187. Little credit is due to the confessions of prisoners on the rack: but the foreign writers say that he confirmed the truth of this confession on the scaffold, before he was beheaded; while the English assert that "both declared themselves innocent of that "wherewith they were charged." Sadler, ii. 217. See Camden, 321. and Strada, x. anno 1578.

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to that prince, and returned with two instruments; one public, by which he notified his acceptance of the office: the other private, by which he engaged to transfer to the prince of Orange, the two provinces of Holland and Zealand, to be held in fee by him and his descendants. In Belgium the event was celebrated with public rejoicings; though the fanaticism of the protestant soldiers, who plundered the churches of their catholic allies, irritated the religious feelings of the people. In France, the standard of the duke was surrounded by adventurers of both creeds, anxious to deserve, by their services, the notice of the presumptive heir to the crown. At the head of sixteen thousand men he crossed the frontiers: the prince of Parma raised the siege of Cambray, and the Belgians hailed the duke as the saviour of their country.[85] Sept. 29.

Though the queen had made Anjou a present of 100,000 crowns, in support of his pretensions to the sovereignty of Flanders, she discovered in his success a new objection to the celebration of their marriage. Such a proceeding, at that moment, would necessarily involve her in a war with the king of Spain: the late accession to the power of that monarch, by the annexation of Portugal to his former dominions, had rendered him the terror of all the neighbouring

[85] Bentivoglio, ii. 28. 33, 34. Cabrera, 1123.

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princes: and she therefore proposed to her brother, the most christian king, in lieu of a marriage with Anjou, a league offensive and defensive for their mutual protection.[86]

He is contracted to Elizabeth.

The French monarch gave repeatedly the same answer to the English envoys: that he was ready to sign a league offensive and defensive against Spain, whenever Elizabeth should fulfil

Sept. 13.

her promise of marriage to his brother. That prince having placed his army in winter quar-

Nov.

ters, hastened, at her request, to England. She received him with every demonstration of the most ardent attachment. She gave him a promise, written with her own hand, (exacting at the same time a similar promise from him) to look upon his enemies as her own; to assist him in all cases in which he should require it, and not to treat with the king of Spain without

Nov. 17.

his consent.[87] Soon after she had celebrated the

[86] Digges, 351. 354. 409. Camden, 374. By her allusion to the increased power of Philip, the queen meant his recent subjugation of Portugal. At the death of Henry, cardinal archbishop of Evora, and king of Portugal, the right of succession was in the princes of the house of Braganza, as representatives of Edward the youngest brother of the deceased monarch; but the crown was given, in a popular meeting at Santarem, to don Antonio, commendator of Prato, the natural son of don Louis, one of the other brothers. There appeared, however, another and more powerful claimant, Philip of Spain, the male heir of his mother, an elder sister. In the space of fifty-eight days Philip conquered the whole kingdom with the exception of the small island of Tercera, which still acknowledged don Antonio. That prince had come to England, and solicited the aid of Elizabeth. Cabrera, 1001—1016. 1025.

[87] There were two promises, one more general than the other,

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Nov. 22.

anniversary of her accession, in the presence of the foreign ambassadors, and of the English nobility, she placed a ring on his finger, saying, that by that ceremony she pledged herself to become his wife: and commanded the bishop of Lincoln, the earls of Sussex, Bedford, and Leicester, and Hatton and Walsingham, to subscribe a written paper, regulating the rites to be observed, and the form of contract to be pronounced by both parties at the celebration of the marriage.[83] Every doubt was expelled from the minds of the spectators: Castelnau hastened to inform the king of France; St. Aldegond sent an express with the intelligence to the states; and the union of the queen and the duke, as if it had already been solemnized, was celebrated at Brussels with fire-works, discharges of artillery, and the usual demonstrations of joy.

Though Leicester, Walsingham, and Hatton, at the royal command, had put their signatures to the paper, they had previously, but secretly,

Elizabeth acknowledges in them, that for attachment and constancy, the duke was the most deserving of all her suitors, "de tous ceux, "qui nous ont recherchée et poursuivie d'amour." Memoires du duc de Nevers, i. 545. This narrative was written at the time by one of his suite.

[83] Daniel says, that when he wrote, the original was preserved in the library of M. Foucault. Daniel, xi. 151. In the Memoires de Nevers, we are told, that the particulars were agreed on the 11th of June; and that, as soon as the ceremony of marriage was performed, each was to retire, the queen to attend at the reformed, the duke at the catholic service, and then to meet again at the door. Nevers, i. 568.

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arranged a new plan of opposition. When Elizabeth retired to her apartment in the evening, she was assailed by the tears and sighs of her female attendants. On their knees they conjured her to pause, before she precipitated herself into the gulf of evils, which was open before her. They exaggerated the dangers to which women at her years were exposed in childbed; hinted at the probability that a young husband would forsake an aged wife for a more youthful mistress: represented to her the objections of her subjects to the control of a foreigner: and prayed her not to sully her fair fame, as a protestant princess, by marrying a popish husband.

She recals her consent.

The duke, in the morning, received a message from the queen, and hastened to pay his respects to his supposed bride. He found her pale, and in tears. Two more such nights as the last, she told him, would consign her to the grave. She had passed it in the deepest anguish of mind; in a constant conflict between her inclination and her duty. He must not think that her affection for him was diminished. He still possessed her heart: but the prejudices of her people opposed an insuperable bar to their union. She had, after a long struggle, determined to sacrifice her own happiness to the tranquillity and the welfare of the kingdom.

When Anjou would have replied, Hatton, who was present, came to the aid of his mistress.

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He enumerated the common objections to the marriage; but insisted chiefly on the disparity of age. The queen was in her forty-ninth year. What probability was there that she should have issue: and without the prospect of issue, what reasonable object could she have in marriage? Besides, the contract was conditional: it remained to be seen whether the king of France would ratify the terms on which it had been concluded. With the answer of the duke we are not acquainted: but he returned to his apartment pensive and irritated, and throwing from him the ring, exclaimed, that the women of England were as changeable and capricious as the waves which encircled their island.[89]

Punishes libellers against him.

The news of the espousals had equally alarmed the zealots of both religions. In France it was pronounced from the pulpit, that the marriage of the presumptive heir to the monarchy with an heretical princess portended nothing less than the speedy downfal of the church. In England the preachers compared their countrymen with the Jews, who demanded a king, and soon had reason to condemn their own folly. But that which chiefly irritated the queen, was the bold and inflammatory language of a libel written by Stubs, of Lincoln's inn. It accused the ministers of ingratitude to their country, the queen of degeneracy from her former virtue; charged

[89] For these particulars, see Camden, 375, 376. Nevers, i. 552. 554. Daniel, xi. 150, 151.

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the French nation in general, and the duke of Anjou in particular, with the most odious vices; and described the marriage as an impious and sacrilegious union between a daughter of God and a son of the devil. Elizabeth, by proclamation, cleared the character of Anjou and his minister Simier, and ordered the libellous pamphlet to be burnt by the public executioner. The author, publisher, and printer, were condemned in the court of the King's Bench to lose their right hands, and to be imprisoned during the royal pleasure. The last was pardoned: the other two, having petitioned in vain for mercy, suffered their punishment in the market-place of Westminster. Stubbs, the moment his right hand was lopt off, uncovered his head with the left, and waving his cap, exclaimed, "Long "live the queen!"[90]

Reluctantly allows him to depart.

The duke of Anjou had now demanded leave to depart. But the amorous queen could not bear the idea of separation. She requested him to remain, assured him of her intention to marry him hereafter, sent messengers to renew the negociation in Paris, loaded him with caresses in public as well as in private,[91] and invented daily

[90] Camden, 378. Nugæ Antiquæ, i. 143. 149. 153. 158.

[91] Her conduct gave rise to the most scandalous tales. The French author of the memoir tells us, that they spent their time together, and that she proved her affection to him by "baisers, privautéz, ca-"resses et mignardises ordinaires entre amans." Nevers, 555. The countess of Shrewsbury speaks still more plainly: "qu'il vous "avoit esté trouver une nuit à la porte de [vostre chambre, ou vous

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new plans of amusement to reconcile him to her capricious delays.[92] Thus three months rolled away. The godly were scandalized; the ministers dreaded the result; and the states of Belgium impatiently demanded the presence of their new sovereign: but Elizabeth was still irresolute: and the time came, when it was necessary that the lovers should part. Having vented her passion on the Belgian commissioners, she accompanied the duke as far as Canterbury. There she exacted a promise that he would revisit her in the space of a month; took leave of him in tears; and, hastily retracing her steps, refused to reside at Whitehall, least the place should obtrude on her mind the recollection of the happy hours which she had spent in his company.[93]

1582. Feb. 8.

" l'aviez rencontré auvec vostre seulle chemise et manteau de nuit;
" et que par après vous l'aviez laissé entrer, et qu'il demeura auvec-
" ques vous pres de troys heures." Murdin, 558. From this passage, the imagination of Whitaker has woven a strange and improbable tale, ii. 516.

[92] On new year's day the duke exerted himself much at a tournament. The moment it was over, the queen ran to him, saluted him repeatedly in public, and led him by the hand to his bedchamber, that he might repose himself. The next morning she visited him again before he arose. He had taken the following verse for his device:

Serviet æturnum, dulcis quem torquet Eliza.

Nevers, 555—557.

[93] " The departure was mournfull betwixt her highness and Mon-
" sure: she lothe to let him gowe, and he as lothe to departe. Her
" majestie wyll not cum to White Haule, because the places shall
" not give cause of remembrance to hir, of him with whom she so
" unwillingli parted. Monsure promised his returne in March."

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His subsequent conduct and death.

For greater distinction, Elizabeth had ordered the earl of Leicester, with six lords, as many knights, and a numerous train of gentlemen, to accompany the duke, not only to the sea side, but as far as the city of Brussels. There he was solemnly invested with the ducal mantle as
Feb. 19. duke of Brabant: and afterwards crowned at
Aug. 20. Ghent as earl of Flanders. During the summer, aided by England and France, he opposed, with chequered success, the attempts of the prince of Parma: but observing that the states were jealous of his followers, and that the real authority was possessed not by himself, but by the prince of Orange, he conceived the idea of giving the law to his inferiors, by seizing on the
1583. same day, most of the principal towns in the
Jan. 17. country. The attempt failed in almost every in-
June 1. stance: many thousands of his followers were slain; and he escaped, disheartened and ashamed
1584. into France. His death, after a long indisposi-
June 10. tion, whether it were caused by poison, or intemperance, or disappointment, freed the queen from a passion, which probably would have led her into a repetition of her amorous follies.[94]

Lord Talbot, Feb. 12. Lodge, ii. 260. The same is asserted by the author of the French Memoir. Nevers, 559. 565.

[94] So much was she still attached to him, that on May 7th, Stafford, the ambassador, was obliged to excuse himself for having informed her of the danger of the duke. She would not believe it, but accused Stafford of wishing his death. So severe was the reprimand, that he did not dare to inform her of the event when it actually happened. "I had thought to have written to her ma-

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State of Ireland.

1560. Jan. 11.

Before I conclude this chapter, I must call the attention of the reader to the state of Ireland, where, at the accession of Elizabeth, the reins of government were held by the earl of Sussex. In the last reign he had called a parliament to establish, in this he called another to abolish, the catholic worship. It was enacted, that the Irish should be reformed after the model of the English church: but both the nobility and the people abhorred the change; and the new statutes were carried into execution in those places only where they could be enforced at the point of the bayonet.[95]

Among the aboriginal Irish, the man who chiefly excited the jealousy of the government, was Shane O'Nial, the eldest among the legitimate children of the earl of Tyrone. Henry VIII. had granted the succession to Matthew, a bastard son; but Shane claimed the chieftainry of Ulster, as his right, and the natives honoured and obeyed him as the O'Nial. Through the suggestion of Sussex he consented to visit Elizabeth, and to lay his pretensions before her. At the English court he appeared in the dress of his country, attended by his guard, who were armed with their battle-axes, and arrayed in

"jestie, but I darst not presume for feare of ministring cawse of "greefe." Murdin, 397. 406. The writers who attribute to policy her negociation with Anjou, cannot have consulted the original documents.

[95] Irish St. 2 Eliz. 1, 2, 3.

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linen vests dyed with saffron. The queen was pleased; and, though she did not confirm his claim, dismissed him with promises of favour. Sometimes he rendered the most useful services to the English government; at other times he revenged severely the real or imaginary injuries which he received. He was of a turbulent, but generous disposition; proud of his name and importance, and most feelingly alive to every species of insult. At last he broke—perhaps was driven—into acts of open rebellion: repeated losses compelled him to seek refuge among the Scots of Ulster, equally enemies to the natives and the English; and the Irish chief was basely assassinated by his new friends, at the instigation of Piers, an English officer.

1568. July. By act of parliament, the name, with the dignity of O'Nial, was extinguished for ever: to assume it was made high treason; and the lands of Shane and of all his adherents, comprising one half of Ulster, were vested in the crown, with some trifling exceptions, in favour of a few loyalists.[96]

But the reduction of Ulster did not secure

[96] Camden, 153—156. Rym. xv. 676. Irish St. 11 Eliz. Sess. 3. 1. I may here notice the irregular manner in which the Irish parliaments were summoned. In the last, only ten counties out of twenty, were called upon to return representatives; in this, on complaint being made, the judges were consulted, and several representatives sent by boroughs not incorporated, and some officers, who had returned themselves, were ejected. See Leland, ii. 225. 242.

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peace in Ireland. The turbulence of the native chieftains, whether of Irish or English origin, precipitated them continually into local wars; and their attachment to the catholic faith alienated them from a government, by which their religion was proscribed. In every province insurrections broke out; but were every where suppressed, sometimes with greater, sometimes with less difficulty. The general punishment was the forfeiture of the lands of the delinquents; but it was found to be more easy to pronounce than to enforce such punishment. On this account sir Thomas Smith, the secretary, suggested to the queen a new plan, to colonize the forfeited districts with English settlers, who having an interest in the soil, would be willing to oppose the natives without expense to the crown.

Fruitless attempt to colonize it with Englishmen.

The experiment was made: grants were made to the bastard son of the projector and to other adventurers: and the consequence was that the districts of which they took possession, were reduced to the state of a wilderness by endless and destructive wars between the new settlers and the native inhabitants.[97] The failure, however, was attributed, not to any defect in the system, but to the limited scale on which it had been tried. Walter Devereux, earl of Essex, offered to subdue and colonize with 1200

1572.

Adventures of the earl of Essex.

[97] Camden, 271.

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men the district of Clanhuboy in the province of Ulster. By a contract between him and Elizabeth it was agreed, that each should furnish an equal share of the expense; and that the colony should be equally divided between them, as soon as it had been planted with 2000 settlers. Essex was dazzled with the splendid prospect before him: and his enemies at court stimulated him with predictions of success, though they had no other view than to remove him from the presence of the queen. When he had mortgaged his estates, and proceeded in the enterprise till it would be ruinous to retrace his steps, they began to throw every impediment in
1573. his way. The summer was almost past, before he could reach Ireland. There Fitzwilliams, the lord deputy, objected to his powers: the natives, under Phelim O'Nial, opposed a formidable resistance;[98] and it was discovered that the provisions furnished by the queen were unsound, and her troops ill-provided with arms. He maintained himself with difficulty during the winter; but the lords Dacre and Rich, most of the gentlemen, and many of the common soldiers, with or without permission, returned to England. In the spring the enterprise was abandoned; and the earl consented to aid the deputy in suppressing the insurgents in different

[98] Camd. 286—288. The Irish annals assert, that the next year, 1573, Essex assassinated Phelim O'Nial at a banquet, to which the native chief had been invited. Leland, ii. 257.

parts of the island. It would be tedious to follow this adventurous nobleman through his remaining career. He proposed plans which were approved and then rejected: he obtained leave to return home, and was sent back to Ireland, with the empty title of earl marshal; and at length, after a succession of disappointments, he died at Dublin, of a dysentery, probably caused by anxiety of mind. By the public, however, his death was attributed to poison, supposed to have been administered to him by the procurement of Leicester.[99] This 1576.

[99] See an interesting account of his death in Hearne's Camden, Præf. lxxxix. Great pains were taken to prove to the queen and council, that he died a natural death. (See Camden, 308, 309, and the Sydney Papers, i. 88.) I may here add that, if the earls of Essex and Leicester were enemies, the countess of Essex and Leicester were friends. The latter, after the death or murder of his first wife, had cohabited with Douglas, the widow of Lord Sheffield. If we may believe her, they had been privately married: certain it is, that she bore him a son, whose fortunes will claim the attention of the reader in a succeeding volume. At what time Leicester abandoned her for Lettice, countess of Essex, we know not: but there is too much reason to think, that it was during the life of the earl, her husband. After his death they were secretly married, and to justify this union, Leicester maintained, that his alleged marriage with lady Sheffield, was the fiction of a disappointed woman. Sir Francis Knollys, the father of Lettice, was pacified; but fearful that his daughter might hereafter be treated in the same manner as lady Sheffield, he insisted that the ceremony should be repeated in his presence. For some time it was kept secret; but the reader has seen that it was revealed by Simier to Elizabeth, who from that moment professed herself an enemy to the woman that dared to become a rival for the heart of her favourite. Even the young earl of Essex, in the height of his power, pleaded for his mother in vain. He obtained indeed, more than once, permission to introduce her

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Foreign invasions.

new plan of colonization was viewed with horror by the natives both of Irish and of English extraction. In the expulsion of the adherents of O'Nial they saw, or thought they saw, the fate, which was reserved for themselves: and many chieftains either in person or by messengers implored the aid of the catholic powers for the preservation of their property and of their religion. The kings of France and Spain were occupied with concerns of more immediate interest; but Gregory XIII., who had succeeded to the chair of St. Peter, lent a willing ear to their complaints and solicitations. In the bull of his predecessor, Ireland had not been named: but the omission was now supplied; and Gregory signed, though he did not publish, a new bull, by which Elizabeth was declared to have forfeited the crown of Ireland no less than that of England.[100] Among those, who offered to

to Elizabeth in the privy gallery: but whenever notice was sent to the queen, she always excused herself from leaving her room. At length, on the 27th of February, 1598, two-and-twenty years after the marriage, Elizabeth promised to meet her at dinner at the house of her brother, sir William Knollys. Great preparations were made; the countess took with her a jewel of the value of 300*l.* to present to her majesty: the coach drove to the door of the palace for the queen: yet she did not appear. Essex went to entreat her privately. She positively refused. The next day, however, the favourite brought them together: the countess kissed the queen's hand and breast, and Elizabeth kissed her in return. But this was all: her solicitations for a second interview were ineffectual. See the Sydney Papers, ii. 92, 93. 95. Camden, 308, 309.

[100] Becchetti, xii. 221.

CHAP. II. 1578.

carry it into execution, were Thomas Stukely and James Fitzmaurice. Stukely was an English adventurer, without honour or conscience, who had sold his services at the same time to the queen and to the pope, and who alternately abused the confidence and betrayed the secrets of each. Having obtained from the pontiff a ship of war, six hundred disciplined soldiers, and three thousand stand of arms, he sailed from Civita Vecchia to join Fitzmaurice at Lisbon; but immediately offered his services to Sebastian, king of Portugal, and perished in the company of that prince at the battle of Alcazar against Abdalmelech, king of Fez and Morocco.[101] Fitzmaurice was an Irishman, the brother of the earl of Desmond, and an inveterate enemy to the English government. In his first attempt he suffered shipwreck on the coast of Gallicia; by the aid of the papal ambassador he procured other vessels, and sailing from Portugal took possession of the port of Smerwick, near Kerry. He had brought with him no more than eighty Spanish soldiers, a few Irish and English exiles, and the celebrated Dr. Sanders in the capacity of papal legate. But he trusted to the popularity of his name, the resources of his family, and the influence of a bull, which granted to his followers all the privileges usually enjoyed by the crusaders. His hopes were

1579.

[101] Ibid. 222. Camden, 323. 327.

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however disappointed. The Irish, taught by preceding failures, listened with coldness to his solicitations: he fell in a private quarrel with one of his kinsmen; and the invaders, to save themselves from destruction, sought an asylum among the retainers of the earl of Desmond. Though that nobleman made loud professions of loyalty, his conduct provoked suspicion: he was proclaimed a traitor, and his domains were plundered by the English. At the moment when his fortunes appeared desperate, a ray of
1580. hope appeared. Lord Grey de Wilton, the new deputy, was defeated in the vale of Glandalough; and San Giuseppe, an Italian officer, in the pay of the pontiff, arrived at Smerwick from Portugal, with seven hundred men, a large sum of money, and five thousand stand of arms. But the new comers had scarcely erected a fort, when they were besieged by the lord deputy on land, and blockaded on the sea side by admiral Winter. San Giuseppe, in opposition to the advice of the officers, proposed to surrender; the soldiers joined in the opinion of their commander, and the gates were thrown open to the besiegers. By the English it has been asserted, that no conditions were granted; by the foreigners that they had capitulated for their lives. Sir Walter Raleigh entered the fort, received their arms, and then ordered them to be massacred in cold blood. This disastrous event extinguished the last hope of Desmond: yet he contrived to elude

the diligence of his pursuers, and for three years dragged on a miserable existence among the glens and forests. At last a small party of his enemies, attracted by a glimmering light, entered a hut, in which they found a venerable old man without attendants, lying on the hearth before the fire. He had only time to exclaim, "I am the earl of Desmond," when Kelly of Moriarty struck off his head, which was conveyed, a grateful present, to Elizabeth, and by her order fixed on London bridge.[102] 1580.

[102] Becchetti, 222, 223. Wilk. Con. iv. 260. Camden, 334—344. 406. Spencer, in vindication of the massacre, asserts, that as Giuseppe could not shew any commission from the pope or the king of Spain, but could only say that he and his men were the allies of the Irish, it was answered that the allies of traitors must suffer as traitors, "so there was no other way but to make that short end of them as was made." Cayley's Raleigh, i. 21.

CHAP. III.

PERSECUTION OF THE PURITANS — THE CATHOLICS — AND THE ANABAPTISTS — REVOLUTIONS IN SCOTLAND — MORTON IS EXECUTED FOR THE MURDER OF DARNLEY — PLOTS FOR THE LIBERATION OF MARY STUART — EXECUTION OF ARDEN, AND THROCKMORTON — PENAL ENACTMENTS — HISTORY OF PARRY — HIS EXECUTION — FLIGHT AND CONDEMNATION OF THE EARL OF ARUNDEL — TRAGICAL DEATH OF THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

CHAP. III.

In the preceding chapters, the reader has witnessed the conduct of the English queen, as the ally of the insurgent religionists in France and the Netherlands. But, if for political objects she deemed it advisable to countenance their attempts against the authority of their sovereigns, she still retained the most rooted antipathy to their discipline and doctrine: and, in proportion as their brethren, the English puritans, laboured to establish the reform of Geneva at home, she employed all the power of the crown to check their zeal, and to punish their disobedience. Year after year the most menacing proclamations were issued: first one, then another diocese was "purged:" and the deprived ministers clamorously complained of the hardness of their fate, of the severity of the commis-

sioners, and of the extortions practised in the ecclesiastical courts.

Persecution of the puritans.

I. Had the queen, however, confined herself to the deprivation of the nonconformists, she might perhaps have justified her conduct by the principle, that those who refuse to adopt the discipline, cannot expect to be employed as the ministers, of the established church. But her orthodoxy, or that of her advisers, proceeded further. All her subjects were required to submit to the superior judgment of their sovereign, and to practise that religious worship which she practised. Every other form of service, whether it were that of Geneva in its evangelical purity, or the mass with its supposed idolatory, was strictly forbidden; and both the catholic and the puritan were liable to the severest penalties, if they presumed to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences. It must appear singular, that so intolerant a system should be enforced by men who loudly condemned the proceedings of the last reign: in its defence they alleged an argument founded on the distinction between internal and external worship. The queen, they said, "would not dive into "consciences." Internally, her subjects might believe, might worship, as they pleased. All that she required was external conformity to the law. *That* she had a right to exact. If any man refused, the fault was his own: he suffered not for conscience sake, but for his obstinacy,

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and his disobedience. That this miserable sophism should satisfy the judgment of those who employed it, can hardly be credited: yet it was ostentatiously brought forward in proclamations; and was confidently urged by the English agents in their communications to foreign courts.[1]

Zeal of archbishop Parker.

The puritans had many friends in the house of commons, who powerfully advocated their cause, and in every session covered the table with bills for a further reformation: but the queen as often checked their zeal, sometimes reprimanding them personally, sometimes forbidding the house to proceed, and sometimes ordering the bills themselves to be surrendered into her hands. She found a willing and able coadjutor in the archbishop, who defended, with vigour, the interests of the church, over which he presided; and who, though he had occasionally to lament the caprice of his sovereign, kept her, by his counsels and perseverance, true to the cause of the hierarchy. For a while the dissidents cherished the hope of ultimate success: but their patience was gradually exhausted; and disappointment urged the zealots among them to expressions of rancour, and acts of violence, which their brethren of more sober judgment condemned. Pamphlets, abounding in the most

[1] Strype, i. 582. Even Walsingham, though he says, that the queen thinks consciences are not to be forced, but won, adds, that "as a prince of great wisdom and magnanimity, she would suffer "but the exercise of one religion." Cabala, 407.

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scurrilous language, were published: and Burchet, a student of the Middle Temple, in a fit of religious frenzy, murdered Hawkins, an officer, in the open street. He had mistaken his victim for Hatton, the new favourite; and boasted aloud that he had slain the champion of papistry, and the enemy of the gospel.[2] The blood of Hawkins alarmed the archbishop: an attempt was made to prove the existence of a conspiracy against his life; and three divines of ultra-reforming principles were apprehended. But the council, after mature deliberation, pronounced the documents forgeries, and discharged the prisoners.[3] The death of archbishop Parker was followed by the promotion of Grindal, a prelate, from whose previous indulgence, and secret leaning to the Genevan theology, the puritans promised themselves forbearance, if not protection. But the queen in a short time suspected the orthodoxy of the new metropolitan. He had always approved of certain meetings, called prophesyings, in which the neighbouring clergymen assembled to discuss

1573. Oct.

1574. June.

1575. May 17.

[2] Burchet was at first tried for heresy, and escaped the stake by abjuring the opinions attributed to him. The queen then determined to execute him by martial law; the warrant was even made out, but was recalled at the remonstrance of some of the council. However, Burchet relieved her from her trouble; for, taking his keeper Longworth to be Hatton, he knocked out the man's brains with a fire-brand; and was, in consequence, condemned and executed for murder. It is evident that he was insane. Camden, 284. Stow, 677.

[3] Collier, 547.

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religious subjects. The queen condemned them as nurseries of disobedience and sectarianism. When she ordered their suppresion, Grindal remonstrated. Her pride, or her jealousy, was offended: she suspended him from the exercise of his authority: a threat of deprivation was added: and more than two years elapsed before he was restored, at his humble petition, and after a sincere acknowledgment of his offence. He could not, however, recover her favour: in a short time he received a royal order to resign his see: and if he was spared the mortification, it was only by his death, which had been hastened through anxiety of mind, and the enmity of his sovereign.[4] He was succeeded by a prelate of a more stern and orthodox character, archbishop Whitgift, whose pen had already proved him an able champion of the establishment, and whose vigilance and intrepidity in his new office, exposed the secret attempts, and defeated the open attacks of its adversaries. As a test of orthodoxy, he proposed three articles, which asserted that the queen was the supreme head of the church, that the ordinal and book of common prayer contained nothing

Grindal. 1577. May 7. 1580. Whitgift. 1583. July 6.

[4] Strype's Grindal, 231. 272. 277. 286. Lansdowne MSS. xxxvii. 18. xxxviii. 69. Camden assures us, that the real cause of his disgrace was his condemnation of the unlawful marriage of Giulio, the celebrated physician of Leicester, who from that moment laboured to effect his ruin. Grindal was the founder of the school at St. Bees, in Cumberland. Camden, 463.

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contrary to the word of God, and that the thirty-nine articles were to be admitted as agreeable to the holy scriptures. To these the puritans opposed others: but the archbishop suspended the clergymen who refused to subscribe; and, in defiance of the clamour of his enemies, and of the intrigues of their friends in the council, prevented every projected change in the constitution, or the discipline of the church.[5]

Execution of Thacker and Copping.

To restrain the violence of the dissident writers, an act had been recently passed, making it felony "to write, print, or set forth, any manner of book, rhyme, ballad, letter, or writing, containing any matter to the defamation of the queen's majesty, or the encouraging of insurrection or rebellion within the realm." That a polemical treatise against parts of the book of common prayer, should come within the operation of this statute, will excite surprise: but it was held that such a tract by endeavouring to subvert the constitution of the church, and the supremacy of the queen, tended to the encouragement of rebellion, and the defamation of the sovereign. Thacker and Copping, two non-conforming ministers, and Wilsford, their lay disciple, were indicted and convicted under the statute. Wilsford saved his life by taking the oath of supremacy: the others refused, and died martyrs to their religious principles.[6]

June 4.

June 6.

[5] Camden, 404.

[6] These men were Brownists, a class of ultra-puritans, who, looking upon the church of England

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Persecution of the catholics.

II. But the sufferings of the puritans bore no comparison with those of the catholics. The puritans were considered as brethren, whose transgressions sprung from an exuberance of zeal; the catholics as idolators, whose worship could not be tolerated by the true servants of the Almighty: the poverty of the former offered no reward; the wealth of the latter presented an alluring bait to the orthodoxy of their persecutors. As early as the year 1563, the attention of the emperor Ferdinand had been called to the sufferings of the English catholics. In different letters he recommended to the queen the practice of toleration, solicited her indulgence in favour of the deprived bishops, and

1563. Sept 24. exhorted her to grant one church at least in each populous town, for the exercise of the catholic worship. To the first of these requests, she replied, that by screening the prelates from the penalties to which they were liable by law,

Nov. 4. she had already fulfilled his wish: to the other, that such a concession was contrary to her conscience: "it was a thing evil in itself, and unprofitable to those for whom it was required."[7]

as an unchristian church, refused to communicate with it. Neal, e. vi. Strype, iii. 186.

[7] Strype, i. 370. Pollini, 353. The penalties to which the queen alluded, were those incurred by the refusal of the oath of supremacy. She had forbidden it to be tendered to the deprived prelates. Horn, however, the new bishop of Winchester, summoned Bonner to take it; but Bonner pleaded that Horn was no bishop in law, and therefore had no authority. He argued that

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Penalties to which they were subject.

Many of the more zealous or more timid among the catholics sought, with their families, an asylum beyond the sea. Their lands and property were immediately seized by the crown, and given, or sold at low prices, to the followers of the court.[8] Those who remained might be divided into two classes. Some, to escape the penalties, attended occasionally at the established service; and endeavoured to elude the charge of hypocrisy, by maintaining, from the words of the queen's proclamation, that such attendance was with them nothing more than the discharge of a civil duty, an expression of their obedience to the letter of the law. But this evasion did not satisfy more timorous consciences. The greater number abstained from a worship which they disapproved; and were, in consequence, compelled to pass their lives in alarm and solicitude. They lay at the mercy of their neighbours and enemies: they were daily

Horn had been consecrated according to the ordinal of Edward VI. which had been abolished under queen Mary, and had never since been established by act of parliament. On the contrary, the act of the 25th of Henry VIII. had been revived in the first of Elizabeth; and according to that act bishops must be consecrated after the catholic form. It was difficult in law to resist this plea; and, therefore, in the parliament of 1566, it was enacted that all consecrations according to the ordinal of Edward VI. should be accounted valid; but, at the same time, that all tenders of the oath of supremacy hitherto made by bishops so ordained, should be void and of no effect. Strype, i. 340. 493. Strype's Parker, 61.

[8] In Strype (ii. App. 102) may be seen a list of fugitives, comprehending sixty-eight names, certified for this purpose into the exchequer.

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watched by the pursuivants: they were liable at any hour to be hurried before the courts of high commission, to be interrogated upon oath, how often they had been at church, and when, or where, they had received the sacrament; to be condemned, as recusants, to fines and imprisonment, or as persons reconciled to forfeiture and confinement for life.[9] Their terrors were renewed every year by proclamations, calling upon the magistrates, the bishops and the ecclesiastical commissioners, to redouble their vigilance, and enforce the laws respecting religion. Private houses were searched to discover priests, or persons assisting at mass. The foreign ambassadors complained of the violation of their privileges, by the intrusion of the pursuivants into their chapels:[10] and even Elizabeth herself, to give the example, occasionally condescended to commit to prison the recusants, who were denounced to her in the course of her progresses.[11]

[9] Among those imprisoned and fined, were Hastings lord Loughborough, sir Edward Waldegrave, sir Thomas Fitzherbert, sir Edward Stanley, sir John Southworth, the ladies Waldegrave, Wharton, Carew, Brooks, Morley, Jarmin, Brown, Guilford, &c. Strype, i. 233. 327. ii. 110. 255. 263. 408. 416. 495. Strype's Grindal, 138. 151. 152. In Haynes, is a singular letter to the council from the bishops of London and Ely; who, having examined the persons taken at mass at lady Carew's, suggested that the priest should be tortured, to make him confess the names of those who had attended on other occasions. Haynes, 365.

[10] Strype, i. 327. ii. 212. 410.

[11] "Her majestie hath served God with great zeale and comfortable examples; for by her counsaille two notorious papists,

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Establishment of seminaries.

Queen Mary's priests, as the ancient nonconforming clergy were called, had continued for years to exercise their functions in private houses, at considerable risk to themselves and to their patrons. But death annually thinned their numbers; the deprived bishops were prevented from ordaining others to succeed in their places; and it was confidently expected, that in the course of a short time, the catholic priesthood, and with it the exercise of the catholic worship, would become extinct in the kingdom.[12] If both were perpetuated, it was owing to the foresight of William Allen, a clergyman, of an ancient family in Lancashire, and formerly principal of St. Mary's hall in Oxford. To him it occurred, that colleges might be opened abroad, in lieu of those which had been closed to the catholics at home. His plan was approved by his

" younge Rookewoode, and one Downes, a gentleman, were both " comytted, th' one to the town preson at Norwyche, the other to " the countrie preson there, for obstynate papistrie: and vii. more " gents. of worship were comytted to several houses in Norwych as " presoners; two of the Lovells, another Downes, one Beningfild, " one Pary, and too others not worthe memory, for baddness of " belyffe." The queen lodged at Rookewoode's house, at Euston: and, thanking him for the lodging, gave him her hand to kiss. " But my lord chamberlayn (the earl of Sussex) noblye and gravely, " understanding that he was excommunicated for papistrie, cawled " him before him: demanded of him how he durst presume to " attempt her reall presence, he, unfytt to accompany any Chrys- " tyan person: forthwith sayd he was fytter for a payre of stocks; " commanded him out of the coort, and at Norwych he was " comytted." Lodge, ii. 186. Aug. 30, 1578.

[12] Allen's reply to Burleigh's "execution of justice," p. iii.

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friends: several foreign noblemen and ecclesiastical bodies offered their contributions; and Allen established himself in the university of

1568. Douay. At first he had only six companions: the number was multiplied by the accession of many among the exiles, and of still more from the English universities; and in a short time the new college contained no fewer than one hundred and fifty members, many of them eminent scholars, all animated with zeal for the propagation of that religion, on account of which they had abandoned their own country, and sought an asylum in a foreign clime. Their object was to study theology, to receive orders, and to return to England. Thus a constant succession was maintained; and in the course of the first five years, Dr. Allen sent almost one hundred missionaries into the kingdom.[13]

Execution of Maine.

The success of this establishment disconcerted the lords of the council. They applied to Requesens, the governor of the Netherlands, and in return for the exclusion of the insurgent

1575. March 27. navy from the English ports, obtained from him the dissolution of the college. But the princes

[13] Camden (347) has given an account of the seminarists, which appears to be taken from the declamatory invectives of the crown lawyers, during the trials of the missionaries. They universally denied these charges; which were victoriously answered by Dr. Allen, in a tract, entitled, "An Apology and True Declaration of the "Institution and Endeavours of the Two English Colleges," &c. See extracts from it in Mr. Butler's valuable "Memoirs of the "English Catholics," i. 211.

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of the house of Guise offered the fugitives their protection; and Allen established himself in the city of Rheims, under the archbishop, the cardinal of Lorrain. The English ambassador remonstrated in vain: the king of France refused to interfere; and the council determined, as a last resource, to arrest the zeal of the missionaries by the terror of capital punishment. The first victim was Cuthbert Maine, a priest in Cornwall, charged with having obtained a bull from Rome, denied the supremacy of the queen, and said mass in the house of Mr. Tregian. Of these heinous offences, no satisfactory evidence was adduced, but the court informed the jury, that where proof could not be procured, its place might be supplied by strong presumptions. This was, indeed, a very questionable doctrine: but the council determined that the sentence should be carried into execution, for a warning to the catholic priesthood; and Maine suffered, at Launceston, the barbarous death of a traitor. Even Tregian, in whose house he had been taken, was condemned in a præmunire: the queen took possession of his large estate; and the unfortunate gentleman languished till death in a prison.[14]

1577. Sept. 29.

Nov. 29.

The fate of Maine and Tregian acted as a stimulus to the industry of those who professed

And of others.

[14] Bridgewater, 34. 50. 319; and the old editions of the State Trials. The bull was merely a copy of the last jubilee, which, he said, he had bought through curiosity in a bookseller's shop.

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themselves the adversaries of popery. A more active search was made after recusants; every jail in the kingdom numbered among its inmates prisoners for religion: and on one occasion no fewer than twenty catholics of family and fortune perished of an infectious disease in the castle of York.[15] Nelson, a priest, and Sherwood, a layman, who by force of torture, or through captious interrogations, had been led to a denial of the queen's supremacy, were drawn, hanged, and quartered.

1578. Feb. 3.

Feb. 7.

Arrival of Persons and Campian. 1579. April 29.

The experience of ages has proved, that such severities cannot damp the ardour of religious zeal. Missionaries now poured into the kingdom. Gregory XIII. established an additional seminary in Rome;[16] and Mercurianus, the

[15] Bridgewater, 38. 298. From the accumulation of filth, and want of ventilation, such diseases were common in the prisons of this period. A similar fate befel the catholics in Newgate, in July 1580. (Strype, iii. App. 151.) But the most singular instance occurred at Oxford, on July 6, 1577, at the trial of Jenks, a catholic bookseller. Suddenly the two judges, the sheriff, the undersheriff, four magistrates, most of the jurors, and many of the spectators, were seized with a most violent pain in the head and stomach, which was succeeded by delirium: and in the course of thirty hours ended in death. This disease was not extirpated till the 12th of August; and, what is most remarkable, it was confined to the male sex, and in general to persons in respectable situations in life. See Camden, 316. Lodge, ii. 160. Wood, i. 294. Bridgewater, 37.

[16] The hospital of Santo Spirito, erected in 1204, stands on the very site of the ancient Saxon school, or hospital for Saxon pilgrims, which was totally destroyed in the celebrated conflagration of the Borgo in 847. In its place was afterwards established an hospital for travellers and infirm persons of the English nation in Trastevere, near the church of San Grisogono: and a few years later, another in

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general of the jesuits, assented to the request of Allen, that the members of his order might share in the dangers and the glory of the mission. For this purpose he selected Robert Persons and Edward Campian, two Englishmen of distinguished merit and ability. Their arrival awakened the suspicion of the queen and of the council: it was believed, or at least pretended, that they had come with the same traitorous object as Sanders, who in the preceding year had animated the insurgents in Ireland to oppose the authority of the sovereign: and the pursuivants were stimulated with promises and threats to seek out and apprehend the two missionaries. At the same time the queen, by proclamation, commanded every man, whose children, relations or wards, had gone beyond the sea for education, to make a return of their names to the ordinary, and to recal them within four months; and warned all persons whomsoever, that if they knew or heard of any jesuit or seminarist in the kingdom, and either presumed to harbour him, or did not reveal where

1580. June 22.

July 15.

the city of Rome, in the Via di Monserrato, called the hospital of the Holy Trinity and St. Thomas. In the year 1464, these two establishments were united under the same warden: and in 1579, Gregory XIII. opened them to the English exiles, who had resorted to Rome, to study in the university. On the 23d of April, 1579, he dissolved the hospitals, and in their place erected a college, giving to it the revenue of the former establishments, about 1400 crowns per annum, and adding a yearly pension of 3000 crowns, till its income from other sources should reach to that amount.

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he was concealed, they should be prosecuted and punished as abettors of treason.[17]

New penal enactments. 1581. Jan. 26.

When the parliament assembled, the ministers called on the two houses for laws of greater severity, to defeat the devices of the pope, who had sent jesuits into the realm, to preach a corrupt doctrine, and to sow under the cover of that doctrine the seeds of sedition.[18] Every measure which they proposed, was readily adopted. It was enacted, 1°. that all persons, possessing, or pretending to possess, or to exercise the power of absolving, or of withdrawing others from the established religion, or suffering themselves to be so withdrawn, should, together with their procurers and counsellors, suffer the penalties of high treason: 2°. that the punishment for saying mass should be increased to the payment of 200 marks, and one year's imprisonment; of hearing mass to 100 marks, and imprisonment for the same period: 3°. that the fine for absence from church should be fixed at 20 pounds per month (which was adjudged to mean a lunar month), and that, if the absence were prolonged to an entire year, the recusant should be obliged to find two securities for his good behaviour in 200l. each: and 4°. that to

March 20.

[17] Camden, 348. Sanders, 384. At this time a letter was sent to sir Henry Sydney, president of Wales, reprehending him for his tardiness in executing the commission against the catholics, and informing him that "his doings were narrowly observed." Sydney Papers, i. 276.

[18] D'Ewes, 286.

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prevent the concealment of priests as tutors or schoolmasters in private families, every person acting in such capacity without the approbation of the ordinary, should be liable to a year's imprisonment, and the person who employed him to a fine of ten pounds per month.[19] It is plain that if these provisions had been fully executed, the profession of the catholic creed must, in a few years, have been entirely extinguished.

Letter and challenge of Campian.

Persons and Campian, before they separated, had, in answer to the queen's proclamation, explained in writing the motives which induced them to visit their native country. Each confided his own paper to the care of a friend, with an injunction not to make it public, unless the writer were apprehended and thrown into prison. But the zeal of Pound did not allow him to obey. He betrayed his trust; and published the paper of Campian under the title of a letter to the lords of the council. In it the missionary asserted, that he was come solely to exercise the spiritual functions of the priesthood, and had been strictly forbidden to meddle with worldly concerns or affairs of state; requested permission to dispute on religion before the queen, the council, and the two universities; and declared that all the jesuits forbidden to meddle with wordly concerns or in the world had made a holy league to brave every danger, suffer every kind of torment, and shed their blood, if it were necessary, for the

[19] St. 23 Eliz. c. 1.

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restoration and propagation of the catholic faith. The bold tone of this letter gave considerable offence, which was greatly increased by the publication of another tract from the pen of the same writer, enumerating ten reasons, on which he founded his hope of victory in the proposed dispute before the universities.[20]

Sufferings of the lay catholics.

For nearly a year Campian eluded the pursuit of his enemies; but during that time the catholics had been exposed to severities, of which they had previously no conception. The names of all the recusants in each parish, amounting to about fifty thousand, had been returned to the council: the magistrates were repeatedly blamed for their want of activity and success; and the prisons in every county were filled with persons suspected as priests, or harbourers of priests, or delinquents against one or other of the penal laws. No man could enjoy security even in the privacy of his own house; where he was liable at all hours, but generally in the night, to be visited by a magistrate at the head of an armed mob. At a signal given, the doors were burst open; and the pursuivants, in separate divisions, hastened to the different apartments, examined the beds,

[20] Both the letter to the council, and the tract addressed to the universities, may be seen in Bridgewater, i. 2. 5—19. An incorrect and mutilated copy was published by Strype, iii. App. 13. Bartoli has given an abstract of the letter of Persons, p. 12. Other letters of the two missionaries may be found in Bridgewater, p. 3. and in Strype, though with an erroneous date and address, Vol. iii. App. 151.

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tore the tapestry and wainscotting from the walls, forced open the closets, drawers and coffers, and made every search which their ingenuity could suggest, to discover either a priest, or books, chalices, or vestments, appropriated to the catholic worship. To resist or to remonstrate, was only to provoke additional aggression. All the inmates were interrogated: their persons were searched, under the pretext that superstitious articles might be concealed among their clothes; and there are instances on record of females of rank, whose reason and lives were endangered from the brutality of the officers.[21] At length Campian was taken at Lyfford in Berkshire, and conveyed in procession to the Tower: Persons continued for some months to brave the danger which menaced him: but at length, at the urgent request of his friends, both for their security and his own, he retired beyond the sea.

July 17.

July 22.

Campian is taken and tortured. Aug. 19.

The use of the torture was common to most of the European nations: in England, during the reign of Elizabeth, it was employed with the most wanton barbarity.[22] The catholic prisoner was hardly lodged in the Tower, before he was placed on the rack; and if he were supposed to be a priest, was interrogated why he

[21] By such means lady Nevil was frightened to death in Holborn, and Mrs. Vavasor lost her reason in York. See Bridgewater, 34, 55. 289. 299. 319. Bartoli, 118—121.

[22] See numerous instances in Bridgewater, 56. 176. 179. 191. 196. 222. &c. and note (U) at the end of the volume.

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had come to England, where he resided, whom he had reconciled, what he had learned from the confession of others, and in what places his colleagues were concealed.[23] The second time that Oct. 31. Campian suffered the torture, he made disclosures which he deemed of no importance, but which report exaggerated and misrepresented. His brethren were scandalized; and, for their satisfaction, he protested in a letter to a friend, that though he had mentioned the names of certain gentlemen in whose houses he had been received, yet "he had never discovered " any secrets there declared, nor ever would, " come rack, come rope."[24] This letter was intercepted; and the "secrets" were interpreted to allude to some mysterious conspiracy against the queen. Campian was twice more stretched on the rack: he was kept on that engine of torture, till it was thought that he had expired: but he always persisted in the assertion, that the

[23] Bridgewater, 27. 197. 296.

[24] "We have gotten from Campian knowledge of all his peregri- " nation in England—Yorkshire, Lancashire, Denbigh, Northamp- " ton, Warwick, Bedford, Buckingham, &c. We have sent for his " hosts in all countreys." Letter in Digges, Aug. 19, p. 1581. The confession itself may be seen in Strype, iii. 578. He asserted on the scaffold, that it had been drawn from him by the assurance of the commissioners given upon oath, that his harbourers should not be molested. (Bridgewater, 65.) They were, however, summoned before the council, as we have seen; and some of them were imprisoned and severely fined. Strype, iii. 126. Digges, 390. In his letter to Pound, he expressed his sorrow for his weakness and credulity. Howell's State Trials, 1060.

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secrets to which he had alluded, regarded not matters of state, but the private sins of individuals, which they had confided to him in confession, and which he was forbidden to reveal, by all laws, both human and divine.[25]

Is secretly introduced to the queen.

Elizabeth herself had been desirous to see this celebrated man. By her order he was secretly brought one evening from the Tower, and introduced to her at the house of the earl of Leicester, in the presence of that nobleman, of the earl of Bedford, and of the two secretaries. She asked him, if he acknowledged her for queen. He replied, not only for queen, but for his lawful queen. She then inquired, if he believed that the pope could excommunicate her lawfully. He answered that he was not a sufficient umpire to decide in a controversy between her majesty and the pope. It was a question which divided the best divines in christendom. In his own opinion, if the pope were to excommunicate her, it might be insufficient, as he might err. By his ordinary power he could not excommunicate princes. Whether he could by that power, which he sometimes exercised in extraordinary

[25] Howell, ibid. Between the torturings he had been several times called to dispute on religion, sometimes publicly in the chapel, and sometimes in private. Camden says, that he hardly supported his reputation (expectationem excitatam ægre sustinuit, 349); the catholic writers boast of his success, and appeal to the conversions by which the conferences were followed. Bartoli, 167. 183.

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emergencies, was a difficult and doubtful question, to which some persons had answered in the affirmative.[26]

Arraigned with twelve others. Nov. 12.

At length Campian, twelve other priests, and one layman, collected from different prisons, were arraigned in two separate bodies. They had come prepared to profess their religious belief; to their astonishment they were indicted for a conspiracy to murder the queen, to overthrow the church and state, and to withdraw the subjects from the allegiance due to the sovereign. Even the particulars were specified; the places, Rome and Rheims; the time, the months of March and April in the preceding year: and their very journey from Rheims to England, supposed to have been begun on the 8th of May last. It is not difficult to account for the surprise of the prisoners. Several among them had not been out of England for many years: several had never visited Rheims or Rome in their lives: some had not even seen each other before they met at the bar. They declared, that whatever might be pretended, their religion was their only offence: and, in proof of the assertion, remarked that liberty had been previously offered to each individual among them, provided he would conform to the established church.

[26] Bartoli, 160. Howell's State Trials, 1062. It appears from numerous instances, that in the language of the age, deposition was supposed to be included in the meaning of the word "excommunication," when applied to the queen.

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The report of their trial must convince every reasonable man of their innocence. Campian, with his usual ability and eloquence, vindicated the missionaries from the charge of disloyalty, and shewed that not an atom of evidence had been adduced to connect himself and his companions with any attempt against the life, or the safety of the queen. But the public mind had been prepared to believe in the existence of the conspiracy by a succession of arrests, sermons, and proclamations: the absence of proof was amply supplied by the invectives, the conjectures, and the declamation of the lawyers for the crown: and the jury, after an hour's deliberation, returned a verdict of guilty against all the prisoners. Before judgment was pronounced, Lancaster, a protestant barrister, rose and made oath, that Colleton, one of the number, had consulted him in his chambers in London on the very day on which he was charged with having conspired at Rheims. Colleton was remanded; the others were adjudged to suffer the death of traitors.[27]

And condemned. Nov. 20.

An attempt was, however, made to save the lives of the prisoners. Some of the council objected that, to put to death so many catholic priests at a time when the duke of Anjou was in London, would be to offer an insult to the prince whom the queen had chosen for her hus-

He and most of his companions suffer.

[27] State Trials, 1049. 1072. Bridgewater, 219. 304–307.

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band: but Burleigh contended that it was necessary to allay the apprehensions of the protestants. Let some at least pay the penalty of their treason. It would prove to the world, that the queen was ready to sacrifice her dearest inclinations to the safety of her religion. His opinion prevailed.[28] Campian, Sherwin and Bri-

Dec. 1.

ant were selected for execution; and suffered the punishment of traitors, asserting their innocence, and praying with their last breath for the queen as their legitimate sovereign. The other nine, who were permitted to remain several months under sentence of death, were repeatedly examined by commissioners, and required to declare their opinions respecting the deposing power of the pontiff, and what part they would take, in case of an attempt to put the papal bull in execution.[29] Bosgrave a jesuit, Rishton a priest, and Orton a layman, gave satisfactory answers; they saved their lives, but could not recover their liberty. The other seven replied: that their opinions had nothing

[28] Camden, 379. Bartoli, 209.

[29] On the 1st of April, the queen, to silence the murmurs of the public, issued a proclamation, declaring that Campian and his fellow prisoners had been justly put to death; and stating, in proof of their treasonable intentions, the queries which had been put to him and his companions, and the answers which they had returned. Both may be seen in Howell's State Trials, i. 1078, and in Mr. Butler's Memoirs of the British Catholics, i. 200. App. 360. I may observe, that the answers attributed to Campian are very different from those, which at his trial he asserted that he had given.

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to do with the crime for which they had been unjustly condemned: that they were incompetent to determine the controversy between the pope and their sovereign: that they believed as the catholic church believed, and would on all occasions behave as catholic priests ought to behave. These answers were deemed evasive: and they all suffered at Tyburn, protesting, as their companions had already done, that they were innocent of treason, and dutiful subjects to their sovereign. May 28. May 30.

That the conspiracy with which these men were charged, was a fiction, cannot be doubted. They had come to England under a prohibition to take any part in secular concerns, and with the sole view of exercising the spiritual functions of the priesthood. This they deemed a sacred duty, and for this they generously risked their liberty and their lives. Even their principal accuser afterwards vindicated their innocence; and, in excuse of his own falsehood, alleged the terror that seized him, when he was led to the foot of the rack, and saw himself surrounded with the instruments of torture.[30] At the same

[30] Nichols was a protestant, who going abroad, abjured his religion to gain admission into the seminaries, and being ejected for misconduct, returned to England. He was immediately arrested, and conformed. His conversion was much talked of. He was described as a jesuit, and preacher to the pope; and the bishops were compelled by the council to subscribe 50*l.* per annum, for his maintenance, till he could be provided for in the church. (Strype's Grindal, 262.) He made many discoveries, and published a book

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time it must be owned, that the answers which six of them gave to the queries, were far from satisfactory. Their hesitation to deny the deposing power (a power then indeed maintained by the greater number of divines in catholic kingdoms) rendered their loyalty very problematical, in case of an attempt to enforce the bull by any foreign power. It furnished sufficient reason to watch their conduct with an eye of jealousy, to require security for their good behaviour on the appearance of danger; but could not justify their execution for an imaginary offence. Men are not to be put to death now, because it is barely possible that in one particular contingency they may prove traitors hereafter. The proper remedy would have been to offer liberty of conscience to all catholics, who would abjure the temporal pretensions of the pontiff. But this was an effort of liberality not to be expected in an intolerant age, and

replete with calumnies against the pontiff and the seminarists. Yet he was not produced at the trial; soon afterwards he recalled his charges against the missionaries, and crossed the sea to France. At Rouen he was thrown into prison, whence he wrote several letters to Dr. Allen, and confessed, that all he had said or done, proceeded from the fear of the rack. "It is not," says he, "I assure "you, a pleasant thing to be stretched on the rack till the body "becomes almost two feet longer than nature made it." If we may believe him, Stubbs supplied the materials of his book, and Wilkinson added the marginal notes. Hopton, lieutenant of the Tower, inserted in his confession, names that he had never heard, and suppressed some, and altered others of his answers. See his letters in Bridgewater, 230—234. Also Bartoli, 119. 137, 138.

from the advocates of a principle, which naturally led to persecution: that the catholic worship was idolatry: and that even to connive at idolatry was a damnable crime, which could not fail to draw down the severest judgments of heaven, both on the nation and on the queen.[31]

Persecution of the anabaptists.

III. There was nothing in the creeds of the puritans or of the catholics which, according to law, could subject them to the pains of heresy; but the anabaptists were still doomed to suffer at the stake under Elizabeth, as their predecessors had suffered under her father and brother. They formed a numerous sect in the maritime provinces of the Netherlands; and under the cover of the Dutch church in London, occasionally introduced themselves into England. On three different occasions, the queen, by proclamation, ordered all persons, whether foreigners or natives, who had embraced the opinions of the anabaptists, to leave the kingdom within twenty days, under pain of forfeiture, imprisonment, and other penalties. At the suggestion of Grindal, bishop of London, domiciliary visits were made through all the parishes of the metropolis: and every householder was compelled to return a list of the strangers who lodged with him, their occupations, characters,

[31] See this history, vol. vi. 350. note, and vii. 406. In Strype, ii. App. 33, 34. are two curious theological discussions of the question, whether a protestant prince could tolerate the mass in his dominions. See note (V).

CHAP. III.

1575. May 10.

and religious principles.[32] In 1575 twenty-seven persons were apprehended at their devotions, in a house near Aldgate: and the queen issued a commission to the bishops of London and Rochester, the master of the rolls, and two magistrates, to proceed against them as suspected of heresy. On examination it was found, that they rejected the baptism of infants, denied that Christ assumed flesh of the virgin, and taught that no christian ought to take an oath, or to accept the office of a magistrate. Some were dismissed with a reprimand; five, on their repentance, were adjudged to bear faggots, and to recant at St. Paul's cross; and one woman and ten men were condemned to the flames: of whom the woman saved her life by abjuring her errors; the men instead of being burnt at the stake, were sent out of the kingdom.[33] But neither argument nor terror could subdue the obstinacy of Peters and Turwert, who persisted in maintaining the truth of their doctrines. The

July 5.

queen, calling to mind, "that she was head of "the church, that it was her duty to extirpate "error, and that heretics ought to be cut off "from the flock of Christ, that they may not "corrupt others;"[34] signed a warrant to the sheriffs: and the two unfortunate men perished

July 22.

in the flames of Smithfield, amidst an immense

1579. May 20.

concourse of spectators. Four years afterwards,

[32] Strype's Grindal, 122—124.

[33] Stow, 678.

[34] Rymer, xv. 740, 741.

CHAP. III.

for the profession of similar opinions, Matthew Hammond, a ploughwright, who had been pronounced an obstinate heretic by the bishop of Norwich, was burnt in the ditch of that city: and in the same place, but after an interval of ten years, was also consumed Francis Kett, a member of one of the universities, who had been convicted of uttering blasphemies against the divinity of Christ.[35] He was, I believe, the last who suffered at the stake for heterodox opinions. 1589.

Sufferings of Mary Stuart.

It is now time to return to the unfortunate Mary Stuart. For several years her adversary Morton, under the powerful shield of Elizabeth, had reigned in Scotland without control: while the captive queen felt all the horrors of a protracted and rigorous imprisonment. The number of her attendants was diminished, the allowance of her table reduced; no stranger could obtain access to her presence without the royal permission, which was often refused, even to the French ambassador; and almost the whole of her correspondence was intercepted and detained by the agents of the English ministers.[36] Her ignorance of the passing events, in which she might be deeply interested, the anxiety of her mind, the refusal to allow her the enjoyment of air and exercise, all contributed to impair her health: and Elizabeth, though she graci-

[35] Stow, 679. 685. Collier, ii. 569.

[36] Lodge, ii. 65. 68. 72. 77. 81. 114. 120. 128. 139.

CHAP. III.

ously accepted from her captive, presents of needle-work and of Parisian dresses, invariably eluded or rejected every petition for a mitigation of the rigour of her confinement.[37]

Disquietude of Elizabeth.

But if Mary suffered, her royal oppressor was not free from uneasiness. She had now convinced herself, that her own safety was irreconcileable with the deliverance or the escape of the Scottish queen: and the fear of the latter event proved to her an exhaustless source of apprehension, of jealousy, and of torment. Among the nobility there was no one in whom she reposed greater confidence than the earl of Shrewsbury. Yet she mistrusted even him. She had been formerly warned of the "alluring graces" of Mary:[38] and she feared that he might be seduced from her service by the attractions of her rival. He was frequently reprimanded for his supposed negligence: at her recommendation, he was compelled to take into his household persons whom he knew to be spies on his conduct; and while he guarded Mary Stuart, he was himself surrounded with guards, the secret agents of the queen, in the neighbourhood of his residence.[39]

[37] Lodge, ii. 87. 121. 129.

[38] Haynes, 511. She "doubted lest her fayre speche shuld "dysseave him." Lodge, ii. 156.

[39] Lodge, ii. 83. 85. 116. 163. 275. When his daughter-in-law was confined, he christened the child himself, that he might not be accused of introducing strangers, if he had sent for a clergyman, 128.

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But, what will probably appear still more extraordinary, Burleigh himself, the sworn enemy of Mary, the author of most of her wrongs, and the adviser of her death, could not escape the jealousy of his mistress. On two occasions he had recourse to the waters of Buxton to relieve the gout. Elizabeth persuaded herself, that the real object of his journeys was to find occasion of intriguing secretly with Mary. She opened to him her suspicion; reprimanded him in a tone of extreme severity; and was long before she would give credit to his repeated denials of the charge.[40]

Revolutions in Scotland.

On the part of the Scottish adherents of the captive, the English queen was free from alarm, so long as Morton retained the regency. But his rapacity had excited the murmurs, and his submission to Elizabeth had wounded the pride of the nation. The former prompted him to debase the coin, to multiply the forfeitures of real or pretended transgressors, and to appropriate to his own benefit the property of the church: the latter induced him to humble himself to the lieutenant of the queen of England, in satisfaction for some unintentional offence,

[40] Lodge, ii. 131, 132. To illustrate the system of espionage which prevailed at this period, Burleigh, though in reality prime minister, having occasion to write a confidential letter to the earl of Shrewsbury on some domestic arrangements, was compelled to keep it by him an entire week, before he found a messenger to whom he dared to trust it, through the danger of its being intercepted and sent to the queen. 134. See also Nugæ Antiquæ, i. 309. 314. 318.

CHAP. III.

arising out of an affray on the borders. At length a convention of the nobility was called; James, who had reached only his thirteenth year, at their request, assumed the government: and Morton received an order to resign his authority. He obeyed with apparent cheerfulness:

1578. March 12.

but in three months his intrigues with the family of Erskine introduced him into the castle of Stirling, gave him possession of the royal person, and enabled him as head of the council, to exercise again the power which he had so

July 16.

recently lost. The two parties met with hostile intentions in the field: they were reconciled by

Aug. 14.

the intervention of the English ambassador; and Athol, the chief author of his late disgrace, after an entertainment at Morton's table, died in a few days of poison. Secure of the ascendency, he now gave the reins to his avarice and resentment; and the chiefs of the Hamiltons, who

1579. June.

reposed in security under the protection of the treaty of Perth, were compelled to save their lives by a speedy flight into England. At this

James asserts his independence. Oct.

moment, however, appeared an unexpected rival to awaken his jealousy. Esmé Stuart, lord of Aubigni, arrived from France: his youth and accomplishments captivated James; and the favourite was created first earl, then duke of Lennox, and loaded with honours and appointments. He insinuated to the king, that it was the object of Morton to convey him into England; and he sent to France for evidence to prove that the

late regent had been an accomplice in the murder of Darnley. Morton, on his side, published that Lennox was in reality an agent of the duke of Guise; that the object of his mission was to effect a change of the national religion, to marry James to some foreign princess, and to persuade him to resign the sceptre into the hands of his mother. The English cabinet, alarmed for the safety, or believing the representations of their friend, sent an ambassador to require the banishment of Lennox: but he returned without an audience, because he refused to deliver his message to the king in presence of the council. A Scottish ambassador, sent to apologize for this conduct, met with similar treatment, and was remanded with a sharp expostulation, and supercilious admonition, from Burleigh.[41]

CHAP. III.

1580.

Morton still attended the Scottish council. But one morning, Stuart, son of lord Ochiltree, falling on his knees, charged him in the royal presence with the murder of the king's father. On his denial he was confined, first in his own house, afterwards in the castle of Dunbarton. Elizabeth hastened to serve her ally. Randolph, the celebrated sower of sedition and treason, was dispatched to Edinburgh. He solicited the life of Morton from the king, the council, and from the estates: he described it as a favour which the queen deserved in return for the nu-

Arrests Morton for the murder of his father. Dec. 31.

1581. Jan. 18.

[41] Camden, 364.

CHAP. III.

merous benefits that she had conferred upon the nation: he attributed the charge to the jealousy of a rival: and he produced documents to prove, that Lennox had associated with foreign princes to procure the invasion of England. He received for answer that his documents were forgeries; and that the king was bound in honour to let the trial proceed. Elizabeth ordered a body of English troops to march to the borders;[42] and Randolph exhorted the earls of Angus and Marr, and the other lords in the English interest to unsheath the sword in his defence. Nor was he the only person employed to plead in favour of Morton, and to denounce the pernicious plans of Lennox. The prince of Orange commissioned William Melville, the king of Navarre, Bothwell and Wemyss, to support the representations of the English agent. But James was inexorable. He summoned all his subjects to arms in defence of their country; the earl of Angus was ordered to retire beyond the Spey; and Marr to surrender the castle of Stirling. Stuart, the accuser, was created earl of Arran: and Randolph, who had, in two former missions, been sent out of the country, now fled to preserve his life.[43]

[42] "2000 foot, 500 horse for relief of *hir partie* in Scotland, "and (if) need be." Walsingham to sir Henry Sidney, Feb. 28, 1581. The reader will notice "hir partie." Sydney Papers, i. 286.

[43] See his letter to the chancellor in Strype, ii. App. 138: He says of Morton: "Nay, I cannot myself wish him any favour, if "that be true that is said of him, and confessed by them in whom

CHAP. III.

May 1.

The queen, unable to raise up a formidable party in Scotland, and ashamed to make war for the sole purpose of preventing the course of public justice, recalled her forces.

Morton is convicted and executed. June 1.

The proofs against Morton consisted of parole and written evidence. It was shewn by the first, that he had held a consultation respecting the murder of Darnley at Whittingham; that when it was perpetrated, his cousin and confidential friend Archibald Douglas and his servant Binning, were actually employed; and that queen Mary, when she surrendered at Carberry hill, told him to his face, that he was one of the assassins. The written evidence was his own bond of manrent, or bond to save Bothwell from the punishment of murder, produced by sir James Balfour, and a paper purporting to be the declaration of Bothwell himself on his death-bed in Denmark.[44] He was

"he had no small trust." It appears he was accused not only of the death of Darnley, but of poisoning the earl of Athol, and of intending to imprison the king, and to kill Argyle, Lennox, and Montrose. Ibid.

[44] Consult Camden, 368, Arnot, Criminal Trials, 388, and Foster's letter in Chalmers, ii. 97. From the last, it appears that a declaration of Bothwell was produced at the trial. Bothwell died in 1576. A report prevailed, that on his death-bed he had solemnly declared Mary innocent of the murder, and named his real accomplices. She made attempts to procure a copy of this testament as it was called: one was believed to have been sent by the king of Denmark to Elizabeth, who suppressed it: another was supposed to have made its way into the Scottish court. That published by Keith deserves no credit. From internal evidence it is nothing more than a memorandum made by some nameless person, at least five years

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found guilty by the unanimous verdict of his peers: but the punishment of treason was commuted by the king into decapitation. In his prison he confessed to the ministers who attended him (but at the same time refused to sign the confession), that he had been twice solicited by Bothwell, twice by Archibald Douglas, to take an active part in the projected murder: that he had declined it, because though Bothwell alleged the consent of the queen, he could produce no written proof of that consent; but that he was guilty of having concealed, through fear, his knowledge of the conspiracy, and of having given to Bothwell, first the bond of manrent, and afterwards another bond to promote his marriage with the queen. On the scaffold he threw himself on his face, and by sobs and groans, and violent contortions of the body, manifested the agitation and anguish of his mind. What impression the sight made on the spectators, we know not: but the ministers who attended him assure us, that these things "were "evident signs of the inward and mighty work-

after the death of Bothwell, of what had been reported by a Danish merchant soon after his death. Keith, App. 142—145. Camden asserts that the earl often, both during his life, and at his death, declared upon oath the innocence of Mary: "et vivens et moriens "reginam minime consciam fuisse, religiosa asseveratione sæpe-"numero contestatus est." Camd. 143. But Laing is positive that king James inserted this passage, and that it was not originally written by Camden. Laing, ii. 52. His assertion is merely conjecture; but if the fact were so, might not James have learned it during his residence in Denmark?

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"ing of the spirit of God."[45] Binning suffered the next day; Archibald Douglas, whom he had appointed a lord of session, found an asylum in England.

New deliberations respecting Mary.

Ever since the arrival of Lennox, Elizabeth had watched with additional jealousy the conduct of the Scottish queen: after the fall of Morton, she thought it necessary to come to a final determination respecting the fate of her captive. Was Mary, as had been formerly devised, to be prosecuted and attainted for practices against the life and dignity of the English queen: or, was she to be liberated from prison, on conditions calculated to secure Elizabeth from the dangers which she feared? The lords of the council assembled; and three days were spent in deliberation. But whatever had been the

Sept.

[45] "He lay on griefe upon his face befoir the place of executione, "his bodie making grit rebounding with sychis and sobbes, quhilk "are evident signes of the inward and myghtie working of the speirt "of God." See the whole confession, and the sequel in Bannatyne's Journal, 491—517. It has been contended, that in this confession, published by the ministers, much was omitted out of tenderness to characters then living, or for political purposes. Mary, indeed, in a letter to Elizabeth, roundly asserts, that from the deposition of Morton, and from the depositions, of those confronted with him, it was plain that all her mistortunes, during her residence in Scotland, were caused by the suggestions and promises of the agents of the English queen: "à dire, faire, entreprendre et executer ce "que durant mes troubles est advenu audit pays." Jebb. ii. 266. Camden, 387. Camden also informs us, that according to Morton's real confession, he refused to act in the murder without a note from the queen; and Bothwell replied, that such a note could not be procured, because the murder must be perpetrated without her knowledge. Camden, 143.

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previous wish of the queen, she soon began to waver; she made objections to every proposal; and at last had recourse to the expedient, so familiar to weak minds, of freeing herself from present perplexity, by postponing her resolution to a latter period.[46] When that period arrived, the same indecision prevailed; Mary was harassed with additional questions, and fresh demands. The partisans of Elizabeth again acquired the ascendency in Scotland; and new events furnished new reasons for perpetuating the captivity of the Scottish queen.

Intrigues in favour of Mary.

To the catholics of England, the late revolution in Scotland had opened a cheering, though fallacious prospect. Groaning under the pressure

[46] Burleigh's letter to Walsingham is so characteristic of the queen's irresolute temper, that I shall make no apology for transcribing it. "The council has come to no conclusion, being as "variable as the weather: for her majesty would come to no deter- "mination on any one point; so they left off talking for weariness, "and the queen postponed all till some future time. They were "long deliberating to what place the Scottish queen should be "brought, where she and her cause might be heard. The Tower "was rejected. The council then unanimously recommended "Hertford castle; which the queen consented to for one whole "day; and then changed her mind, saying it was too near Lon- "don: then Fotheringay was mentioned, which she said was too "far off: then successively Grafton, Woodstock, Northampton, "Coventry, and Huntingdon: all of which were rejected, either "for want of strength, or conveniency. The parliament will pro- "bably be dissolved, and a new one summoned for the 10th of "October: but the queen wishes the hearing of the Scottish "queen's cause to be finished before that day, but nothing to be "done till her removal be determined on." Sept. 10, 1581, apud Chalmers, i. 383, from the paper-office.

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of penal statutes, and despairing of relief from the reigning sovereign, they naturally looked forward to the prince, who in all probability would, within the space of a few years, succeed to the English throne. By the known hostility of Morton, they had been hitherto deterred from presenting themselves to the notice of the Scottish king: the opposite policy of D'Aubigni encouraged them to assure him of their attachment to the claim of the house of Stuart; to solicit his protection in favour of their brethren, whom persecution might occasionally drive into Scotland; and to express a hope that, when providence should place the sceptre in his hands, he would extend the benefit of religious toleration to the best friends of his mother and of himself. Persons, the jesuit, carried his views much further. He argued, that though the prince had been educated by the disciples of Knox, his conversion to the worship of his fathers was not improbable. He was only in his fifteenth year. Who could presume to foresee what impression might hereafter be made on his mind, by gratitude and interest, by affection for his mother, and by his own reading and reflection? With these hopes he dispatched, first, Waytes, an English clergyman, afterwards Creighton, a Scottish jesuit, to the court at Holyrood house. They were received with kindness by the king, the duke of Lennox, the earls of Huntley, Eglinton, and Caithness, and by the barons

1581. July. 1582. Mar.

CHAP. III.

Seton, Ogilby, Gray, and Ferniherst; and both returned to Persons with flattering, though perhaps insincere, promises of the royal favour. James was willing to connive at the silent introduction of the catholic missionaries, to receive one into his court as his tutor in the Italian language, and to take under his protection such religious refugees, as should bring with them a recommendation from his mother. He also talked of the filial affection which he felt towards that unfortunate princess, of his sense of the many wrongs which she had suffered, and of his readiness to co-operate in any plan for her deliverance from captivity; but unfortunately (so he pretended) his enemies had deprived him of the means: he was a king without a revenue; and poverty would, at last, compel him, unless he was relieved by the bounty of the catholic princes, to submit to the pleasure of Elizabeth.

May.

With this answer Persons and Creighton hastened to Paris, where they were met by the duke of Guise, Castelli, the papal nuncio, Tassis, the Spanish ambassador, Beton, the archbishop of Glasgow, and Mary's resident in the French court, Matthieu, the provincial of the French jesuits, and Dr. Allen, the president of the seminary at Rheims. After a long and secret consultation, the general opinion was, that Mary and James ought to be associated on the Scottish throne, as joint king and queen; that to consolidate their interests, an agreement between

them, consisting of several articles,[47] should be signed; and that the pope and the king of Spain should be solicited to relieve the present pecuniary wants of the young king. It is probable that other projects, with which we are unacquainted, were also formed. Whatever they were, they afterwards obtained the assent of the Scottish cabinet: Persons hastened to Valladolid, where he obtained from Philip a present of 12,000 crowns for James; and Creighton to Rome, where the pope promised to pay the expenses of his body guard, for twelve months, amounting to one third of the former sum.[48] June 18.

When this plan of association was communicated to Mary, she not only gave her own consent, but earnestly solicited that of her son. It was her wish, she said, to give him, according to law, what he now held only by force; to make him of an usurper, as he now was, a legitimate king in the estimation of other sovereigns. By Lennox and Arran the measure was approved; but if the former supported it with all his influence, the latter secretly opposed every obstacle in his power. At the first proposal James was

[47] The purport of the articles was to relieve all Scotsmen from any fear of punishment for past offences, and to secure to them their present rights and possessions—"d'asseurer les rebelles de toute "impunité de leurs offences du passé, et de remettre toutes choses en "repos pour l'advenir sans aucune innovation de chose quelconque." Lettre de Marie, Jebb, ii. 274.

[48] See the letters of Persons in More, 113. 121. Bartoli, 242. 244. and the supplication of the Scotch malcontents in Melville, 130.

CHAP. III.

alarmed; but when he was assured that Mary would leave to him the sole exercise of the sovereign authority within the realm, he signified his assent. The captive queen fondly attributed it to the affection of the son for his mother; the result shewed that it had been drawn from him by considerations of personal interest.[49]

The raid of Ruthven.

Neither the visits of Waytes and Creighton to Edinburgh, nor the consultation in Paris, had escaped the prying curiosity of the English agents: and all the projects of Persons were extinguished in their very birth, by the promptitude and policy of Elizabeth's cabinet. Under its auspices, a new revolution was organized in Scotland.[50] The earl of Gowrie invited James to his castle of Ruthven; secured the person of the unsuspecting prince; and assumed with his associates the exercise of the royal authority. Of the former ministers, the earl of Arran was thrown into prison; and the duke of Lennox sought an asylum in France, where he died of poison, or of a broken heart.[51] The Scottish

Aug. 23.

[49] Cotton MSS. Cal. B. iv. 35. [50] In proof of it, Mary, in her letter to Elizabeth, appeals to the charges "données à vos "derniers deputez envoyez en Escosse, et ce que lesdits deputez y "ont seditieusment practiqué avec bonne et suffisante solicitation du "comte mon bon voisin à York." (Huntingdon.) Jebb, ii. 270.

[51] He was said, probably on very slight grounds, to have been poisoned in his passage through England. See a letter from Mary in Jebb, ii. 537. Mary's agent in Scotland asserts, that the real cause of his exile was his approval of the plan of association: "il ne fust "jamais chassé pour aultre occasion, que d'avoir pourchasse, la dite "association." Murdin, 549.

lords of the English faction ruled again without control: and the preachers from the pulpit pointed the resentment of their hearers against the men, who had sought to restore an idolatrous worship, and to replace an adulteress and assassin on the throne. CHAP. III.

For several weeks the Scottish queen was kept in close confinement, that this unexpected event, so fatal to her hopes, might be concealed from her knowledge. When the communication was at last made, it alarmed her maternal tenderness; she read in her own history the fate which awaited her son; and from the bed, to which she was confined by sickness, wrote to Elizabeth a long but most eloquent and affecting remonstrance. Having requested the queen to accompany her in imagination to the throne of the Almighty, their common judge, she enumerated the wrongs which she had suffered, from her English sister, while she reigned in Scotland, on her flight into England, after her innocence had been proved in the conferences at York and Westminster, and now, last of all, in the captivity of her son. But what injury had she offered to Elizabeth to justify such conduct? Let the charge be made; and if she did not refute it, she was willing to suffer the punishment. She knew her real and her only crime. It was that she was the nearest relation, the next heir to the queen. But her enemies had little reason to be alarmed. They had brought her to the

Letter from Mary to Elizabeth.

Nov. 8.

CHAP. III.

brink of the grave, and she thought little now of any other kingdom than the kingdom of God. In this situation, therefore, she recommended the interests of her son to the protection of her good sister, and earnestly begged for her own liberation from prison. But if she must remain a captive, she trusted that at least the queen would grant her a catholic clergyman to prepare her soul for death, and two additional female servants, to attend on her during her sickness.[52] Whether this energetic appeal made any impression on the heart of Elizabeth, we know not; it procured no additional indulgence to the royal captive.

Walsingham sent to Scotland.

For some time the queen and Henry of France had stood in mutual awe of each other. *She* feared that he might be provoked to espouse the cause of Mary; *he*, that at the first offence she would lend her powerful aid to the French huguenots. On this account, as long as James suffered himself to be guided by the duke of Lennox, Henry appeared indifferent to the affairs of Scotland; but now that the Scottish king was in the hands of the English faction, La Motte Fenelon and Maigneville were dis-

[52] This letter is abridged by Camden (p. 387,) but published entire, by Jebb, ii. 266. A translation may be seen in Whitaker (iii. 583,) and in Chalmers (i. 485.) It does not, however, give the real sense of this passage: "La verité estant apparue des impostures qu'on semoit de moy, par la conference à laquelle je me soubmis;" which undoubtedly means, that her innocence was proved *by* the conference.

CHAP. III.

patched to Edinburgh, that they might aid the young prince to regain his liberty, advise him to call around him the other noblemen and the deputies of the burghs; and suggest the necessity of effecting as quickly as possible the association of his mother with himself on the throne. At the same time, 1583 Jan. 13. Bowes and Davidson, the English agents, were instructed to oppose the French; to urge their immediate dismissal; and to represent to the king the danger of the measures which they recommended.[53] James acted with a dissimulation and vigour not to be expected from his years. Having summoned a convention at St. Andrew's, he took possession of the castle: June 27. the number of his adherents intimidated the opposite faction: an offer of pardon to all who had been concerned, "in the raid of Ruthven," allayed their apprehensions; and the young king recovered with ease the exercise of the royal authority. Elizabeth by letter condemned, James defended his conduct, and during the controversy, Sept. 1. to the surprise of all men, Walsingham himself made his appearance at the Scottish court. There seemed no sufficient object to draw that aged statesman from his official situation, and to engage him in so long and laborious a journey. He read, however, to the Scottish king several lectures on the art of government; extolled clemency as more useful than rigour; and ex-

[53] See the instructions in Murdin, 374. Camden, 395.

CHAP. III.

horted James to banish "the enemies of the "religion," from his councils, and his society. But the chief occupation of the ambassador was to study the numbers and resources of the two parties; to spread distrust and dissension in the one, while he united and strengthened the other; to distribute with advantage the monies which he had brought with him from England, and to secure partisans with pensions and promises. James had received him coldly, and listened to him with reserve: a paltry present at his departure proved how little the king valued his advice: and Elizabeth complained to Mary of the disrespect shewn to her ambassador, which she resented as shewn to herself.[54]

Sept. 15.

A new plan for the liberation of Mary.

This new revolution in Scotland revived the hopes of the royal captive, and of her adherents in France. The duke of Guise, Castelli, the archbishop of Glasgow, Matthieu, and Morgan, held another meeting at Paris. The object of their present consultation was to devise a plan for the liberation of Mary: and it was proposed that the duke should land with an army in the south of England; that James with a Scottish force should enter the northern counties; and that the English friends of the house of Stuart should be summoned to the aid of the injured queen. This project was communicated to Mary through the French ambassador, to James through

[54] Camden, 396, 397. Melville, 135. Sadler, ii. 374. Jebb, ii. 535, 536.

Holt, an English jesuit, confined in the castle of Edinburgh.[55] The king immediately expressed his assent: but his mother, aware that her keepers had orders to deprive her of life, if any attempt were made to carry her away by force, sought rather to obtain her liberty by concession and negociation. She acquainted Elizabeth with her design of transferring all her rights to her son; threw the blame of his late behaviour to Walsingham on the ministers, who abused his good nature and inexperience: repeated the offers which she had made the year before; and proposed a league of perpetual amity between the two crowns, to be concluded in Scotland, through the mediation of Castelnau the French ambassador. Elizabeth seemed to acquiesce: the English ministers submitted to the pleasure of their sovereign: and Castelnau predicted a favourable result. But it was the misfortune of Mary to depend on men, who were swayed by no other consideration than personal interest. Though Henry had authorised the ambassador to undertake the commission; though he furnished him with instructions, such as the Scottish queen had solicited; yet he privately ad-

[55] See Murdin, 496. With all the persons at this consultation the reader is acquainted, except Morgan. He was a gentleman of Wales, formerly secretary to Mary, and now administrator with Charles Paget, brother to Lord Paget, of her dower in France. The archbishop of Glasgow distrusted or disliked them both. From the former consultation they had been excluded. How Morgan came to be admitted to this, I know not.

CHAP. III.

Dec. 19.

monished him to obstruct any treaty, which, by freeing Elizabeth from apprehension on the part of Scotland, might place her at liberty to support the protestants of France.[56] Castelnau deemed it prudent to relax his exertions; the Scots of the English faction remonstrated to the queen; reports were circulated of the projected invasion; and Elizabeth was taught to believe, that the discharge of the captive must prove injurious to her honour and interests; to her honour, because her Scottish friends would infallibly be sacrificed to the resentment of Mary; to her interests, because the mother and son would probably devote themselves to the cause of Spain, the former by a marriage with Philip, the latter by a marriage with the daughter of that monarch. Elizabeth with her characteristic inconstancy, changed her resolution, and the cup of promise was again, for the twentieth time, dashed from the lips of Mary Stuart.[57]

Elizabeth alarmed by the report of conspiracies against her

But the English queen herself experienced at this period considerable disquietude, from her knowledge of the design of the duke of Guise, combined with her ignorance of his associates and resources. She not only suspected the captive at Sheffield; she dreaded the disaffection of her subjects of the catholic communion. During the last two years the laws against them had been enforced with unexampled seve-

[56] See his letter in Jebb, ii. 545. [57] Jebb, ii, 532, 545.

rity. The scaffolds were repeatedly drenched with the blood of priests, executed as traitors: in several counties the prisons were crowded with recusants, of ancient and noble families: and the newly created fines and forfeitures for religious offences had been exacted without mercy. In the event of invasion could she rely on the loyalty of men suffering under such oppression? Would they not imitate the protestants of Scotland, France, and the Netherlands, who had risen in arms against their catholic sovereigns? To discover the extent of the danger, and to guard against the designs of the disaffected, her chief dependence was on the industry and ingenuity of Walsingham, who, nurtured in intrigue himself, was the better qualified to detect and unravel the intrigues of others. Secret agents in his pay were spread over the continent. They resided in the most frequented ports, insinuated themselves into the councils of princes, and even studied as ecclesiastics in the English seminaries. Other spies at home, prompted by the prospect of reward, haunted the houses of the principal catholics. They represented themselves as confidential agents of Mary or of her partisans; delivered counterfeit letters, that they might receive answers; and sought, by every artifice, to discover the secret dispositions of men, or to allure them to the commission of crime. It became, according to the testimony of Camden, difficult

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for the most loyal and the most cautious to elude the snares which were laid for their destruction.[58]

That of Arden.

The first victim was Arden, a gentleman of an ancient family in Warwickshire, whose misfortune it was to have incurred the enmity of Leicester, by refusing to sell a portion of his estate for the accommodation of that powerful favourite. In the progress of the quarrel he had the imprudence to brave the resentment of his antagonist: he rejected the earl's livery, which was worn by the neighbouring gentlemen; he opposed him in all his pursuits in the county, and was accustomed to speak of him with contempt as an upstart, an adulterer, and a tyrant. Arden's daughter had married Somerville, a neighbouring catholic, subject to fits of insanity. In one of these he attacked, with a drawn sword, two men on the highway: and, at the same time, declared, so it was reported, that he would murder every protestant, and the queen as their

Oct. 30. head. Somerville was soon lodged in the Tower;

Nov. and in a few days was followed by his father and mother-in-law, his wife, his sister, and Hall, a

Nov. 24. missionary priest. Arden and Hall were put to the torture: the former persisted in maintaining his innocence: from the latter was drawn a confession, that Arden had, in his hearing, wished the queen were in heaven. On this slender proof, conjoined with the previous con-

[58] Camden, 411.

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duct of Somerville, that gentleman, Hall, Arden, and Arden's wife, were convicted of a conspiracy to kill the queen. Somerville, on pretence of insanity, was removed to Newgate, and found, within two hours, strangled in his cell: Arden, the next day, suffered the punishment of a traitor. The justice of his execution was generally questioned: and the pardon granted to the others, strengthened the belief, that his blood was to be charged, not to his guilt, but to the vengeance of Leicester, who gave the lands of his victim to one of his own dependants.[59]

Dec. 16. Dec. 19. Dec. 20.

Of Paget and Throckmorton.

About the same time, if the information received by Walsingham was correct, Charles Paget, an exile, and brother to the lord Paget, ventured to land on the coast of Sussex, under the assumed name of Mope. Soon afterwards, a letter, written by Morgan, fell into the hands of the secretary. Francis and George, sons of sir John Throckmorton, whom the hostility of Leicester had, on some trifling pretext, removed from his office of chief justice of Chester, were immediately apprehended and sent to the Tower: the lord Paget and Charles Arundel fled beyond the sea;[60] and the earl of Northumberland with

Nov. 17.

Dec. 18. 1584.

[59] Camden, 405. Bridgewater, 317. Rishton's Diarium. Dugdale's Warwickshire, 681. About the same time, Jan. 11th, was executed Carter, a printer. He was charged with having printed a treatise on schism, in which the maids of honour were exhorted to kill the queen, as Judith had killed Holofernes. (Camden, 411.) I shall transcribe the passage in note (W) at the end of the volume.

[60] Arundel had lent money to the queen of Scots. Murdin, 438.

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Jan. 1. his son, and the earl of Arundel with his countess, uncle, and brother, were summoned and repeatedly examined before the council. These, if they did not convince, at least silenced, their adversaries. Paget and Arundel protested that they had fled, not through consciousness of guilt, but to elude the snares laid for them by the cunning and malice of Leicester.[61] Even the two Throckmortons persisted in the most solemn asseverations of their innocence. In the mean while, Stafford, the ambassador in France, had laboured, but in vain, to discover some trace of the projected invasion. Not a single soldier was levied: no preparation whatever had been made for the supposed invasion.[62] But if his report contributed to lull, an intercepted letter from the Scottish court to Mary, awakened the apprehensions of Elizabeth. The

April 4. writer informed the royal captive that James approved the plan of the duke of Guise, was resolved to expose his own person in the attempt, had received a promise of 20,000 crowns to raise an army, and was desirous of knowing on what English noblemen and gentlemen he might rely for assistance.[63] It was probably owing to this letter that Francis Throckmorton

[61] Camden, 411. Hardwicke papers, i. 213.

[62] Hardwicke papers, i. 197. Murdin, 389. 397. Stafford seems to think that they would not venture, lest an invasion should endanger the life of the Scottish queen, 385.

[63] See it in Sadler's papers, ii. 375.

CHAP. III.

April.

was brought to trial. He had thrice suffered the rack without making any disclosure: when he was again led to that engine of torture, he confessed, that two catalogues, said to have been found in one of his trunks, had been written by him: that one contained the names of the chief ports, the other of the principal catholics, in England: that they were intended for the use of Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, to further the enterprise of the duke of Guise: and that he had devised a plan with that minister to enable the catholics, at the moment of invasion, to levy troops in the name of the queen, then to declare against her, and, unless she would consent to tolerate the catholic worship, to attempt the subversion of the government.[61] With this confession in his hand, Burleigh accused the Spaniard of having violated his duty, and practised against the state. Mendoza replied, with warmth, that the charge was false and calumnious; that he was the person who had to complain of insidious and traitorous policy; and that Burleigh had intercepted the treasure, aided the rebels, and by the means of pirates, plundered the subjects of his sovereign. The two ministers parted in anger; and the Spaniard, spontaneously, or by force, leaving the court, retired to Paris, where, for many years, he gratified his resentment, by lending the aid

[61] Somers' Tracts, i. p. 214.

CHAP. III.

of his influence and abilities to those, who sought the ruin of Elizabeth.[65]

Throckmorton on his trial, pleaded, that his confession was insufficient to convict him; because, by the 13th of the queen, it was required, that the indictment should be laid within six months after the commission of the offence, and should also be proved by the oaths of two witnesses. The judges replied, that he was indicted, not on the 13th of the queen, but on the ancient statute of treasons, which neither required witnesses, nor limited the time of prosecution. Surprised at this answer, he exclaimed, that he had been deceived; that the whole of his confession was false; that it had been subscribed by him to escape the torment of the rack, and under the impression that it could not affect his life. After condemnation he once more confessed his guilt, and on the scaffold
June 10. again revoked his confession, calling God to witness, that as it had been extorted from him, in the first instance, by the fear of torture, so it had been drawn from him in the second by the hope of pardon. The government thought proper to publish a tract in justification of his punishment. The proofs which it furnishes, might then be deemed sufficient: in the present

[65] Consult Elizabeth's declaration in Strype, iii. 153. App. 43. Among other things, Mendoza charged a certain councellor (Leicester) with having engaged the brother of a certain earl (Sussex), in a plot to murder don John of Austria. Ibid.

CHAP. III.

day they would be rejected with contempt from any court of justice.[66]

James overcomes his opponents.

While the ministers thus punished a doubtful conspiracy at home, they were actively employed in fomenting a real conspiracy abroad. Alarmed by the connexion of James with the duke of Guise, by his professions of attachment to his mother, and by his marked disregard of the admonitions of Elizabeth, they earnestly sought to restore and to recruit the English faction in Scotland. The intrigues of Walsingham were supported by the gold of the queen:[67] the preachers appealed from their pulpits to the piety or the fanaticism of their hearers: and the chiefs began to arm their retainers, when the king, who felt his throne tremble under him, commanded, by proclamation, all persons concerned in the "raid of Ruthven," to quit the realm. Gowrie promised obedience, but loitered, under different pretexts, in the town of Dundee: his accomplices, the earls of Angus and Marr, appeared at the head of a body of insurgents. *He*, after a stubborn conflict, was made prisoner:

1584. March 2.

April 13.

[66] Camden, 413. Throckmorton was racked for the first time, on the 23d of Nov., and then twice on 2d of December. Several other catholic gentlemen, Shelly, Pierpoint, Brummelholme, Layton, &c. were, at this time, thrown into the Tower, probably on similar charges, or suspicions. See Rishton's Diary at the end of Sanders.

[67] "Ses mauvaises subjects paissez par la bonne royne d'Angle-"terre, cherchent de jour en aultre l'occasion d'avoir sa personne "entre leurs traitereuses mains." Intercepted letter to Mary, in Sadler, ii. 375.

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they, though they had surprised the town and the castle of Stirling, abandoned both at the approach of the royal army. Elizabeth had resolved to aid her friends with an English force: but its advance was retarded by a strong remonstrance from the French ambassador; and the design was laid aside at the arrival of intelligence, that Gowrie had been executed as a traitor, and that his associates had sought an asylum in England. While Walsingham secretly provided for their support, the queen interceded in their favour: but James, under the direction of Arran, a bold, though rapacious minister, rejected her prayer; and the Scottish parliament, having pronounced them rebels, confiscated their property.[68]

April 18.

May 4.

Sept. 20.

Negociation for the freedom of Mary.

The cause of Mary had never worn so favourable an appearance, as it did at the present moment. The English faction in Scotland was extinct: her son was believed to be at her devotion; Elizabeth, anxious to be freed from apprehension, earnestly sought an agreement: and even Walsingham, now that his other plans had failed, expressed his approbation of the terms offered by the queen of Scots.[69] James had named the master of Marr, one of his favourites, to proceed to the English court; and permission had been obtained that Nau, the French secre-

Oct. 17.

[68] Jebb, ii. 548. 553. Sadler, ii. 395. 399. 405. Camden, 408.

[69] "Wherwith I see no cawse but that her majestie shoold rest satysfied." Sadler, ii. 420.

tary of Mary, should meet him as her agent. Little doubt was entertained that these ministers, through the mediation of the French ambassador, would successfully conclude the treaty so often begun, and so often interrupted. But there always happened something to disappoint the expectations of the unfortunate queen. Creighton, the Scottish jesuit, and Abdy, a Scottish priest, both on their way to their native country, had been captured by a Dutch cruiser; and, though Scotland was not at war with any other power, were conducted as prisoners to England. In the Tower, and in presence of the rack, Creighton disclosed all the particulars of the projected invasion which had so long alarmed Elizabeth.[70] The enemies of Mary improved the opportunity to agitate her mind with new and unfounded apprehensions; and a plan of association was composed, the subscribers of which bound themselves to pursue, unto death, not only every person who should attempt, but also every person in favour of whom any other should attempt, the life of the queen. The latter clause was

Sep. 16.

[70] Creighton had torn his papers, and thrown them into the sea, but the fragments were collected, and among them a paper written in Italian, about two years before, shewing how England might be successfully invaded. Sadler, ii. 401. I suspect a paper in Strype is a translation of it. (Strype, iii. 414.) In his confession he detailed all the particulars of the consultation at Paris; but added, that the invasion was postponed till the troubles in the Low Countries should be ended. Sadler, ibid. This conduct of Creighton furnished Morgan with a specious ground of complaint against Persons and his friends. Murdin, 496.

CHAP. III.

evidently directed against Mary Stuart; and, while it affected to make the life of one queen security for that of the other, placed the former without resource at the mercy of her enemies; who might, at any moment, plead a pretended plot in justification of her murder. When the bond of association was read to her, she heard it as her death-warrant: but recovering herself, she offered to add her signature to the list of subscribers, as far as it were applicable to herself. This offer was not accepted: but copies were dispersed through the kingdom, and were signed by every man who had any thing to fear from the displeasure, or any thing to hope from the favour, of his sovereign.[71]

Oct. 31.

Rendered useless by the perfidy of Gray.

It was owing perhaps to the peculiar circumstances in which the king of Scotland had been placed from his infancy, or to the education which he had received from his tutors, that he felt none of those generous sentiments, which usually glow with so much ardour in the bosom of youth. At the early age of sixteen he was become a perfect master in the art of dissimulation, and knew no other motives of conduct but personal gratification and personal interest. He had long negociated with Mary, his cousin of Guise, the king of Spain, and the pontiff. To all these he professed a strong partiality for the catholic worship; a desire to be lawfully associated on the throne with his mother; and a re-

[71] Sadler, ii. 430, 431. Camden, 418.

solution to risk his life in order to procure her liberty. By these protestations he obtained, the only thing he sought, repeated presents in money: but his sincerity at last was doubted: their liberality became checked, and he determined to play a similar game with the English queen. Gray, master of Marr, his new ambassador, was ordered not to join the secretary of Mary, but to negociate apart. Gray professed the catholic creed, and always held himself out as the devoted servant of Mary. He had been sent to Paris with a recommendation to her friends from Holt, and had there been admitted into the confidence of Persons and the archbishop of Glasgow, from whom he learned all their intrigues and plans for the liberation of the Scottish queen. On his introduction to the English court, he was received coldly by Elizabeth, and still more coldly by her ministers. But his conduct soon removed their prejudices against him. He assisted at the established service; he quarrelled with Nau; he betrayed to Elizabeth the secrets, which had been intrusted to his fidelity at Paris. When by these arts he had gained the royal favour, he suggested as the means of "knitting a closer amity," a marriage between the English queen and his sovereign, and demanded for the latter an annual pension, with a declaration that he was the second person in the realm. He could not expect to succeed in all these proposals: but he obtained his

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principal object, a supply of money, with a promise of more, in proportion to the subsequent services of James.[72]

Association against the enemies of Elizabeth confirmed by statute.

But though Elizabeth could find money to purchase the friendship of the king, and the services of his favourite, her exchequer was said to be empty; and want or the fear of want compelled her to make an appeal to the benevolence of her subjects. A new parliament (the last, by successive prorogations, had continued during the space of eleven years) was summoned to meet in the autumn. The more important transactions of the session may be arranged under four distinct heads. 1°. A liberal aid was granted of six shillings in the pound, by the clergy, to be paid in three years, and of one subsidy and two fifteenths by the temporalty. 2°. For the greater safety of the queen, it was proposed, that in case of invasion, or any attempt to injure the royal person, the individual by whom or *for* whom the attempt was made, should forfeit all right to the succession, and should be pursued to death by all the queen's subjects. This bill was plainly the counterpart of the association; and was liable to the same objections. Why should Mary be made to answer, with the loss of her rights and of her life, for the conduct of

[72] Fontenay's account to Mary, in Murdin, 548. 557. Though classed by the editor among the documents of 1585, it belongs to the year 1584. See also Sadler, ii. 420. 460. Camden, 421. See note (X) at the end.

men, whom she had not the power to control, and of whose designs she might probably be ignorant? Elizabeth felt the injustice of the measure: and a royal message was received, suggesting several important amendments. By the act, as it ultimately stood, the associators were restrained from pursuing to the death, any person, who had not previously been pronounced, by a court of twenty-four commissioners, privy to the treason; Mary and her issue were rendered incapable of the succession, only in the case of the queen suffering a violent death; and the words of the association already subscribed, were ordered to be explained according to the provisions of the present statute.[73] 3°. The puritan members among the commons, though less bold than their predecessors, did not remain silent. Since the last session the deprivations of non-conforming ministers had been multiplied under the direction of archbishop Whitgift: the queen had appointed a new ecclesiastical commission with additional and more formidable powers; and the sufferers ceased not to harass both the parliament and convocation with long and eloquent petitions for redress. Motions on religious subjects occupied much of the time of the lower house: and bills were introduced to enforce the observance of the sabbath, to repress idleness, incontinence and adul-

Motions for further reformation.

[73] St. 27 Eliz. c. 1.

CHAP. III.

tery, to abolish the administration of the oath ex officio, to regulate proceedings in the bishops' courts, to do away plurality of benefices, and to reform the discipline and morals of the clergy. But the queen still considered every attempt to legislate on ecclesiastical matters, as an invasion of her prerogative. By the influence of the courts, most of these bills were rejected on the first reading: and of those which passed the commons, some were thrown out by the lords; and of the others, though they struggled through the house in defiance of the ministers, not one could obtain the royal assent. 4°. The catholics, though hardly a month had been suffered to pass, in which the scaffolds did not stream with their blood,[74] were doomed to suffer additional severities. The conspiracies, whether real or pretended, of Arden and Throckmorton, had thrown the nation into a ferment; both the zealots and the alarmists called for measures of precaution and vengeance; and their wishes were amply gratified by a statute, which enacted, that, if any clergyman born in the queen's dominions, and ordained by authority of the bishop of Rome, were found within the realm after the expiration of forty days, he should be adjudged guilty of high treason; that all persons aiding or receiving him should be liable to the

Penal statutes against catholics.

[74] During the three last years five-and-twenty had suffered. Challoner, 69. 163.

penalties of felony; that whosoever knew of his being in the kingdom, and did not discover him within twelve days, should be fined and imprisoned at the queen's pleasure; that all students in the seminaries, who did not return within six months after proclamation to that effect, should be punished as traitors; that persons supplying them with money in any manner should incur a præmunire; that parents sending their children abroad without licence, should forfeit for every such offence one hundred pounds; and that the children so sent to seminaries, should be disabled from inheriting the property of their parents.[75]

Opposed by Parry. Dec. 17.

On the third reading of this bill, Dr. Parry, a Welshman and a civilian, rose in his place, and described it "as a measure savouring of treasons, full of blood, danger and despair, to "English subjects, and pregnant with fines and "forfeitures, which would go to enrich, not the "queen, but private individuals." The boldness of this speech, at a time when no other member dared to open his mouth, excited universal astonishment; but the sequel made the conduct of Parry appear still more strange and mysterious. By the house he was given in custody to the serjeant: the next day he obtained his liberty at the command of the queen, who stated that he had explained his motives partly to her

[75] Camden, 432. St. 27 Eliz. c. 2.

CHAP. III.

satisfaction: and yet, within six weeks afterwards, he was conducted a prisoner to the Tower, on a charge of high treason.[76]

1585. Feb. 1.

History of Parry.

Neither the rank nor abilities, the virtues nor vices, of Parry, could entitle him to the notice of posterity; but his real or supposed crime, or rather the use which was made of that crime, has rendered him a distinguished personage in the history of this reign. He was a protestant, born in Wales, of an ancient family, by his own account; of obscure parentage, if we may believe others. From the service of the earl of

1570. Pembroke, he passed to that of the queen: and by the appointment of lord Burleigh resided several years in different parts of the continent, to collect and transmit secret intelligence for the use of that minister. He returned

1577. to England, married a rich widow, spent her fortune, and to extricate himself from debt, broke into the apartment of his principal cre-

1580. ditor, whom he attempted to murder, and wounded desperately in the affray. He was saved from the death which he had merited, probably by the influence of his patron, under

1582. whose auspices he resumed his former employment of a spy. From the correspondence between them, it appears that both were equally discontented, he with the smallness of his allowance, Burleigh with the unimportance of his

[76] D'Ewes's Journal, 340.

discoveries. Stimulated by the complaints of the latter, he sought to insinuate himself into the confidence of the catholic exiles, by pretending to become a convert to their creed, and with that view applied at Lyons to Creighton, with whom the reader is already acquainted. Being reconciled by that jesuit, he revealed to him his ardent wish to free the English catholics from the persecution which they suffered: for this purpose, he would not hesitate to kill the queen with his own hand, if he could only persuade himself that it were lawful before God. Creighton assured him that it was not: Parry began to argue the point: but the Scot was positive; and the next day departed to his usual residence at Chamberry. From Lyons the impostor proceeded to Venice, and addressed himself to Palma, another jesuit, who refused to listen to his proposals, but conducted him to Campeggio, the papal minister. Parry pretended that he had secrets of great importance to communicate at Rome, but previously required from the pontiff a passport in the most ample form. Before it arrived, on the receipt of some intelligence which alarmed him, he fled out of Italy, returned to Paris, and was again reconciled. Here he revealed his pretended design of killing the queen to Morgan, by whom, if we may believe him, it was approved;[77] but

1583. Mar.

Oct.

[77] Mary Stuart declared, that she did not believe Parry's accusation of Morgan. She thought him incapable of such a crime.

CHAP. III.

again affecting to feel a scruple of conscience as to the lawfulness of the deed, he was advised to consult Persons and Allen. The first of these he refused to see; and when he was introduced to the latter, he had not the courage to put the question. He made the experiment, however, on Waytes, and some other English priests, who all condemned the design: and being foiled in this attempt, procured from

1584. Jan. 1.

Morgan an introduction to the nuncio Raggazzoni, to whom he gave a letter for cardinal Como, the Roman secretary of state, and from whom he received a promise that the answer should be forwarded to him in England. Parry now returned; made to Elizabeth, in the presence of Burleigh and Walsingham, a pompous though obscure narrative of his services; maintained that he had been solicited by the pope to murder the queen; and in a few weeks gave to

March.

her the answer of the cardinal Como, in testimony of his veracity. This, however, proved to be no more than a civil answer to a general offer of service: neither his letter nor that of the cardinal contained the remotest allusion to the murder;[78] and to his surprise, when he de-

Jebb, ii. 675. Parry, in his letter to the queen, observes, "that it "will not be in his power to fasten this charge upon Morgan: the "proof depending upon his yea and my nay, and having no letter "or cipher of his to charge him." Strype, iii. App. 103. The ministers printed Parry's letter, but were careful to omit this passage; it was first published by Strype from the original.

[78] The letter of the cardinal furnished a pretence for the most

manded a pension from the queen, he was told that he had done nothing to deserve a reward. His wants increased; he petitioned for the mastership of St. Catherine's hospital, and he harassed the council with resquests, till necessity compelled him to return to his former habits, and to set on foot a new intrigue.[79] It was necessary to give this account of Parry, that from a previous acquaintance with his character, the reader might be better able to judge of the mysterious affair which followed.

May.

Aug. 2.

Sept. 3.

His intrigue with Nevil.

Among the exiles in the pay of the English

violent declamation against the pope, as if he had been acquainted with the design to kill the queen, and had granted a pardon for it before hand. The fact, however, is, that Parry in his letter never alluded to the design. He merely said, that he was returning to England, and hoped to atone for his past misdeeds by his subsequent services to the catholic church. Bartoli, 288. Discovery of Squyer's fiction, p. 4. The answer of the cardinal may be seen in Sadler, ii. 500. The indulgence mentioned in it was that, which was given to persons on their reconciliation, a remission of canonical censures incurred by former offences.

[79] This account of Parry is taken from his letters in Strype ii. 593. 648. iii. 79. 82. 188. 252. 259. Hollingshed, 1388. His confession, ibid. and State Trials, i, 1095. Bortoli, 286—289; and Camden, 427—430. It is a singular fact, that Burleigh placed so much confidence in Parry, that when his wife's nephew, Anthony Bacon, began his travels, the lord treasurer wrote to the young man, and advised him to contract and cultivate an intimate acquaintance with Parry, who was then at Paris. Leicester immediately informed the queen, that Bacon was the friend of an exile and traitor; but Burleigh convinced her, that neither the religion nor the loyalty of his nephew would be shaken in the company of Parry. Birch, from the original letters, vol. i. p. 12, 13. As late as October 24th, 1583, we have a letter from Parry to Burleigh, giving him a good character of young Wm. Cecil and his tutor. Lansdowne MSS. N°. 39—43.

CHAP. III.

government, was Edmond Nevil, of the family of the earls of Westmoreland, who, as long as Persons resided at Rouen, had been employed to watch the motions of that enterprising jesuit. Nevil had lately obtained permission to come to England. He claimed the inheritance of the last lord Latymer; but met with a powerful antagonist in the eldest son of lord Burleigh, who was in actual possession of the estate. To this man Parry attached himself, and, while he described him to the queen as a dangerous and suspicious character, sought to drive him to despair, by persuading him that Burleigh was his mortal enemy. They soon grew intimate; they swore to be secret and true to each other; they talked of different projects, some for the delivery of the queen of Scots, others for the assassination of Elizabeth. It appears to have been a trial of skill between two experienced impostors, which should be able to entangle the other in the toils. Nevil succeeded. He denounced Parry: they were confronted; and the Welshman, after a faint denial, acknowledged that he had solicited Nevil to assassinate the queen.

August.

1585. Feb. 1.

He is executed for treason.

In the Tower he made a long confession, and wrote several letters to Elizabeth and her ministers. To an ordinary reader they bear the marks of a distempered mind: though perhaps those to whom they were addressed, might, from their knowledge of his previous conduct, explain the contradictions with which they seem to abound.

Feb. 14. Feb. 18.

The sum of his confession was, that Morgan had urged him to murder the queen; that cardinal Como, in the name of the pontiff, had approved the project; that the sight of Elizabeth, and the consideration of her virtues, had induced him to repent: but that the perusal of a work by Dr. Allen, had revived his traitorous resolution, and led him to propose the design to Nevil. At his trial, buoyed up with the hope of pardon, he pleaded guilty: his confession was Feb. 25. read; and the chief justice prepared to pass sentence. At that moment, overcome with terror, he exclaimed that he was innocent; that his confession was a tissue of falsehoods extorted from him by threats and promises; that he had never harboured a thought, and that Como had never given any approbation, of the murder. His petition to withdraw his plea was refused: judgment was pronounced; and the unhappy man exclaimed, that if he perished, his blood would lie heavy on the head of his sovereign.

On the scaffold, which was erected in the palace yard, he renewed the protestation of his innocence. Topcliffe, the noted pursuivant, objected the letter of the cardinal. "O, sir," replied Parry, "you clean mistake it. I deny any "such matter to be in the letter: and I wish it "might be truly examined and considered of." Being told to hasten, he repeated the Lord's prayer in Latin, with some other devotions; the cart was drawn away; and the executioner,

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catching him in the first swing, instantly cut the rope, and butchered him alive.[80]

It is a matter of doubt, whether Parry were guilty or not. The queen at first thought, that he had mentioned the project to Nevil, for the sole purpose of sounding his real disposition:[81] she was afterwards induced to believe that he was a dissembler, who sold his services to both parties, and who would, had he not been prevented, have imbrued his hands in her blood. However that may be, no man can deny, that for his former crimes, his complex and suspicious intrigues, and his base attempts to inveigle others

[80] See the authentic account given to Burleigh in Strype, iii. 251. It adds: "when his heart was taken out he gave a great groan."—It has been supposed that Allen's book, to which he alluded in his confession, "justified and recommended the murder of heretical "princes." This is a mistake. Allen wrote no such work. Parry referred to Allen's answer to Burleigh, concerning which, see note (V.)

[81] I am inclined to think that Parry acted in this instance with her permission. 1°. He had told her, that Nevil was "a dangerous "and suspicious character:" 2°. On Parry's apprehension she insisted that the first question put to him should be this: Have you not proposed the murder of the queen to "a dangerous and suspicious "character, in order to try him?" Camden, 427. 3°. He hinted as much on the scaffold: "this is my last farewel to you all. I "die a true servant to queen Elizabeth. For any evil thought that I "had to harm her, it never came into my mind. *She knoweth it:* "and *her own conscience can tell her so.* I concealed it (his "intrigue with Nevil) upon confidence of her majesty, to whom I "had before bewrayed what I had been solicited to do." 4°. He ends his letter to the queen thus: "remember your unfortunate "Parry, *chiefly overthrown by your hand.*" This, however, was suppressed by the ministers in the printed copies. Strype, iii. App. 103.

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into conspiracies, that he might have the merit of betraying them, he amply deserved the death which he suffered.

The conviction of Parry, and still more the supposed approbation of his crime by the pontiff, were thought to justify the severity of the penal laws now in progress through the two houses. The catholics, before their doom was sealed by the royal assent, sought to propitiate the queen by a long and eloquent petition. In it they vindicated their loyalty and their religion from the odious doctrines, with which they had been charged. They declared, 1°. That all catholics, both laity and clergy, held her to be their sovereign, as well de jure as de facto: 2°. That they believed it to be sinful, for any person whomsoever, to lift up his hand against her, as God's anointed: 3°. That it was not in the power of priest or pope to give licence to any man to do, or attempt to do, that which was sinful: and 4°. That, if such an opinion were held by any one, they renounced him and his opinion as devilish and abominable, heretical and contrary to the catholic faith. Wherefore they prayed, that she would not consider them as disloyal subjects, merely because they abstained, through motives of conscience, from the established service; but would have a merciful consideration of their sufferings; and would refuse her assent to the law, which had for its object to banish all catholic priests out of the realm. This petition was

The catholics petition in vain.

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communicated to the chief of the clergy and gentry, and was universally approved. When it was asked who would venture to present it to the queen, Richard Shelley, of Michael Grove, in Sussex, took upon himself the risk, and was made to pay the penalty. The council, for his presumption, committed him to prison; where, after a confinement for several years, he died, the victim of his zeal to alleviate the sufferings of his brethren.[82]

Terrors of the Scottish queen.

The queen of Scots had passed the winter in the most cruel disquietude. From the moment that she saw the bond of association, it had been her conviction that she was condemned to death in the secret council of her adversaries. The ratification of that bond by act of parliament, the suspicions thrown out, of her being an accomplice in the supposed treasons of Throckmorton and Parry, her removal from Sheffield to the old and ruinous castle of Tutbury, the intention of transferring the care of her person from the earl of Shrewsbury, whose honour had been her protection, to a keeper of inferior rank,

[82] Compare Strype, iii. 298, who supposes that the petition was presented to parliament, with Pattenson, p. 496, 497. When Shelley was brought before the council, he was required to reveal the names of those, who concurred with him in the petition. Aware of the object, he gave the names of such only, as were known recusants. It was then objected that the petitioners ought to have refuted the arguments of Dr. Allen, in favour of the deposing power: and he was required to sign a paper, declaring that all, who held the deposing power, were traitors. This he refused. Ibid.

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sir Amyas Pawlet, the dependant of Leicester, contributed to agitate her mind with continual alarms. She was not, however, wanting to herself. By repeated letters, she sought to awaken the pity or affection of Elizabeth; she signed a bond of her own composition, by which she declared all persons who should attempt the life or dignity of her good sister, enemies whom she would pursue unto the death;[83] she protested that she was completely ignorant of the designs attributed to Throckmorton and Parry; and she defied her enemies to produce any proof, which could in the slightest degree affect her innocence.[84]

1585. Jan. 5.

The discovery of Gray's treachery had induced Mary to complain to her son of the conduct of his favourite. James returned a cold and disrespectful answer; reminding her, in the conclusion, that she had no right to interfere with his concerns; that she was only the queen mother, and as such, though she enjoyed the royal title, possessed no authority within the realm of Scotland.[85] This letter opened the eyes of the captive to the hopelessness of her situation. Even the son, on whose affection she rested her fondest hopes, had deceived, had abandoned her. In the anguish of her mind, she formed the resolution of disowning him, if he persisted in his disobedience; of depriving him of every right which he might claim through

Her son abandons her cause.

March 24.

[83] Murdin, 548. [84] Jeb, ii. 569. 674. [85] Ibid. 573.

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her; and of transferring all her pretensions to a prince, who might be both willing and able to assert them.[86] But while she revolved these thoughts in her mind, an accident happened to awaken new alarms. A young man, a catholic recusant, and suspected to be a priest, had been brought a prisoner to Tutbury. He was confined in a room adjoining to her chamber, was carried several times by force, and before her eyes, to the service in the chapel, and, at the
Apr. 5. end of three weeks, was hanged before her window.[87] His fate she considered a prelude to her
Apr. 8. own: and, under this impression, she wrote to Elizabeth, begging, as a last favour, her liberty and life. She demanded nothing more: as to the conditions, her good sister might name, and she would subscribe, them. She had now nothing to preserve for a son, who had abandoned her; and was therefore ready to make every sacrifice, besides that of her religion.[88] But the English queen, no longer afraid of the interposition of James, neglected the offers and prayers of her captive, and committed her person to the

[86] Jebb, ii. 573.

[87] See her letters in Jebb, ii. 580. 582. And another in Egerton's life of lord Egerton, Paris, 1812, p. 4. "En ceste sinistre oppinion, "ne m'ha pas peu confirmé l'accident de ce presbystre qui, après "avoir esté tant tourmenté, fut trouvé pendu sur la muraille viz à "viz devant mes fenestres." To her complaint to the privy council, an answer was returned that he was a layman accused of having wronged his master, and had taken this opportunity to commit suicide.

[88] Jebb, ii. 582, see note (X).

custody of sir Amyas Pawlet, the keeper, from whose austerity and fanaticism she anticipated nothing but severity, perhaps assassination.

Discontent of the earl of Arundel.

These terrors were not, however, confined to the queen of Scots; they were common to the whole body of the English catholics, whose lives and fortunes had been placed, by the late enactments, at the mercy of their adversaries, and who believed that one great object of the association was a general massacre of the most distinguished professors of the ancient creed. Some, to save themselves, entered into the household of the earl of Leicester, or of the other favourites of the queen: many, abandoning their families and possessions, retired beyond the seas, and risked their lives in the service of foreign powers. Of the others there were two, the earls of Arundel and Northumberland, whose and rank and misfortunes claim more particularly the attention of the reader. 1°. Philip Howard was the eldest son of the last duke of Norfolk, by Mary Fitzallan, daughter to the earl of Arundel. At the age of eighteen 1575.
he was introduced to Elizabeth, who received him graciously, and lavished on him marks of the royal favour. He soon mixed in all the gaieties, and indulged in all the vices of a licentious court. His wife was forsaken, was even renounced, for some other distinguished female:[89]

[89] She was Anne, daughter to Thomas lord Dacre of the north. They were publicly married, as soon as she had completed her twelfth year, and again privately, as soon as he had completed his

CHAP. III.

1579. Feb. 24.

and the earl, his maternal grandfather, and the lady Lumley, his aunt, to mark their disapprobation of his conduct, bequeathed to others a considerable part of their property. On the death of the former, he claimed, with the possession of the castle, the title of earl of Arundel: and his right, though he was not yet restored in blood,[90] was admitted by the council. But afterwards, whether it arose, as he himself conceived, from the misrepresentations of the men, who feared his resentment for the death of his father, or from the officious imprudence of the friends of Mary Stuart, who held him out as the hereditary head of their party, he rapidly declined in the favour of his sovereign: and it was soon evident, that he had become to the royal mind an object of distrust, if not of aversion. In these circumstances, Arundel retired from court to the society of his wife, to whom he endeavoured to atone for his past neglect by his subsequent attachment. The queen, however, did not suffer them to live long together. Two

fourteenth. There was probably something in these proceedings, on which he founded the pretended nullity of the marriage. To what female at court he attached himself, we know not: but we are told by his biographer, that the queen was surrounded by women of the most dissolute character; and that for a married man to aspire to the royal favour, it was previously requisite that he should be on evil terms with his wife. See the MS. life of Phillippe Howard, c. iii. in possession of his grace the duke of Norfolk.

[90] He took his seat in the house of lords, April 11th, 1580; and the bill restoring him in blood, received the royal assent, March 18th 1581. Lords' Journals, ii. 13. 54.

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attempts to implicate him in charges of conspiracy had failed: but on the apprehension of Throckmorton, he received an order to confine himself to his house in the metropolis, and lady Arundel was committed to the custody of sir Thomas Shirley in Sussex. Yet no guilt could be traced to either of the prisoners: at the close of four months the earl recovered his liberty: a whole year elapsed before the countess obtained the same indulgence. 1583.

He attempts to leave the kingdom.

So many affronts made a deep impression on the mind of this unfortunate nobleman. His belief in the established creed had been shaken at the conferences in the Tower: he persuaded himself that his present disgrace was a punishment for his reluctance to follow the dictates of his conscience; and, sending for a missionary, he was reconciled to the catholic church. This was a step which could not fail to irritate the queen, and to give additional advantage to his enemies. The penal laws enacted in the next session of parliament, multiplied his fears: and, after a long conflict with himself, he determined to quit the kingdom. But before his departure, he wrote to Elizabeth a long and eloquent epistle, in which he enumerated the failure of all his attempts to gain her confidence, the ascendency of his enemies in her council, the disgrace which he had suffered, the fate of his father and grandfather, who, though innocent, 1584. 1585. April.

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had perished as traitors, and the penalties to which he was exposed on the ground of his religion. He was come, he said, to the point, "in "which he must consent either to the certain "destruction of his body, or the manifest "endangering of his soul:" and he therefore trusted that, if to escape such evils, he should leave the realm without licence, she would not visit him with her displeasure, which he should esteem the bitterest of all his losses, the most severe of his misfortunes.[91] But Arundel knew not, that at the very time he was beset with the spies of the ministers, and that his own house abounded with traitors. Every step that he took, was immediately communicated to the council; and, as soon as the vessel, which he had secretly hired to convey him to Flanders, sailed from the coast of Sussex, it was boarded by two ships of war, under the command of Kelloway, a pretended pirate. From Kelloway, the fugitive was received by sir George Carey, the son of lord Hunsdon. The council committed him to the Tower: and his imprisonment was followed by that of his brother, the lord William Howard, and of his sister, the lady Margaret Sackville.

April 25.

[91] This letter is in Stow, 702—706. In one part he insinuates, that the persons, who enjoy her confidence, are atheists at heart. This was often said of Ralegh; but he did not belong to the council. Probably the earl may allude to Leicester and Walsingham.

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Is taken and condemned in the star-chamber. 1586. May 17.

On his examination before the commissioners, the innocence of the earl disconcerted the malice of his adversaries.[92] He remained more than twelve months unnoticed in his prison; at length the charge of treason was converted into that of contempt, and he was accused in the star-chamber of having sought to leave the kingdom without licence, and of having corresponded with Allen, who had been declared the queen's enemy. He replied, that in the first he was justified by necessity, because the laws of the country did not permit him to worship God according to his conscience: and that his correspondence with Allen was not on matters of state, but of religion. Both pleas were overruled; and he was condemned to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds, and to suffer imprisonment during the pleasure of the queen. She made him feel the weight of her resentment. His confinement was rigorous beyond example; it lasted for life; and it was afterwards aggra-

[92] A letter was produced, purporting to have been written by him to Dix, his steward in Norfolk, in which he was made to say, that he should shortly return at the head of a powerful army. He was only allowed to read the two first lines, which were written in a hand not unlike his own. He pronounced it a forgery; and, though it was first shewn by Walsingham, there was so much mystery about the manner, in which it came into the hands of the secretary, that the majority of the council ordered it to be withdrawn. Life of Philippe Howard, c. ix.

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vated by a new trial and condemnation on a charge of high treason.[93]

Death of the earl of Northumberland.

The apprehension of the earl of Arundel, was followed by the tragic death of Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland. From the moment that nobleman discovered his attachment to the ancient faith, he had been surrounded with spies; and during the last ten years had been forbidden to depart from the vicinity of the metropolis. The arrest of Throckmorton had caused that of William Shelley, an acquaintance of the earl: and from the confession, voluntary or extorted, of that gentleman, it was inferred that Percy had given his assent to the supposed conspiracy for which Throckmorton suffered.[94] He was sent to the Tower: but though he remained more than a year in close confinement, no pre-

1585. June 20. paration was made for his trial. On the 20th of

[93] He was closely confined during thirteen months, before he could obtain permission that any of his servants might wait on him. Ibid. c. x. xi. His countess, after his imprisonment bore him a son. But she was refused permission to visit him, and was otherwise treated with great cruelty. Her MS. life, c. vi.

[94] He was the brother of Thomas the attainted earl. During the rebellion, he had levied forces for Elizabeth against his brother; afterwards he offered to assist in a project for the liberation of the queen of Scots. But his services were refused, under the idea that he acted in collusion with Burleigh. (Murdin, 21, 119. Anderson, iii. 221.) The ministers, on the one hand, appeared to believe him in earnest, (Lodge, ii. 69,) condemning him in the star-chamber in a fine of 5000 marks; and on the other to know that he was not, never exacting the fine, but granting him the earldom, which he claimed. State Trials, i. 1115. 1127.

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June the lieutenant received an order to remove the earl's keeper, and to substitute in his place one Bailiff, a servant of sir Christopher Hatton: the same night the prisoner was found dead in his bed, having been shot through the heart with three slugs. A coroner's inquest returned a verdict of felo de se: and three days later the chancellor, the vice-chamberlain, the lord chief baron, the attorney and solicitor-general, severally harangued the audience in the star chamber, to prove that the earl had been guilty of treason, and that, conscious of his guilt, he had, to spare himself the ignominy of a public execution, and to preserve the honours and property of his family, committed self-murder.[95] Yet the change of his keeper, the great difficulty of conveying fire-arms to a prisoner in the Tower, and even the solicitude of the court to convict him of suicide, served to confirm in the minds of many, a suspicion that his enemies, unable to

June 23.

[95] The earl had certainly allowed Charles Paget, one of the exiles, to meet Lord Paget at his house at Petworth, for the purpose, as they pretended, of making a settlement of the family estates. The chief evidence against him was Shelley, who pretended to have heard from Paget, that the earl had entered into a conspiracy with him for the invasion of the kingdom. Shelley may have said so: but the fact is denied by Paget in an intercepted letter to the queen of Scots: "That W. Shelley, as they say, should confess that I had "revealed some practices I had with the earl to him, herein, as I "shall answer at the day of judgment, they say most untruly; for, "that I never had talk with the said Shelley, in all my life, but such "ordinary talk, as the council might have heard, being indifferent." Murdin 463.

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bring home the charge of treason, had removed him by assassination.[96]

[96] See the coroner's inquest in Stow, 706; the government account in Somers' Tracts, iii. 420. Howell's State Trials, 1111. Camden, 434. Bridgewater, 204. To prove the suicide, one Mullan was brought forward, who said that he had sold the dag or gun; and another prisoner Pantin, who asserted that he saw it delivered into the hands of the earl by a servant called Price. But Price himself, though in custody, was not produced. State Trials, i. 1124, 1125. On the other hand, I observe that, in a letter from sir Walter Raleigh to sir Robert Cecil, in 1601, it is assumed as a fact known to them both, that the earl was murdered by the contrivance of Hatton. Murdin, 811.

CHAP. IV.

ELIZABETH CONSENTS TO PROTECT THE BELGIAN INSURGENTS—CONCLUDES A TREATY WITH JAMES OF SCOTLAND—INTRIGUES OF MORGAN AND PAGET—BABINGTON'S PLOT—DETECTION AND EXECUTION OF THE CONSPIRATORS—PROCEEDINGS AGAINST MARY—HER TRIAL AT FOTHERINGAY—JUDGMENT AGAINST HER—PETITION OF PARLIAMENT—INTERCESSION OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND SCOTLAND—HER EXECUTION—THE DISSIMULATION OF ELIZABETH—WHO PUNISHES HER COUNSELLORS—AND APPEASES THE FRENCH AND SCOTTISH KINGS.

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By the death of the duke of Anjou, the right of succession to the crown of France had devolved on Henri de Bourbon, king of Navarre. Thus by a singular coincidence it happened, that in France as well as in England, the presumptive heir was a person professing a religion different from that established by law: nor were the catholics in the one country more willing to see a protestant, than the protestants in the other to see a catholic sovereign on the throne. There was, however, this difference: in England the right was claimed by a female and a captive, whose life lay at the mercy of her enemies: but in France the heir was a sovereign prince, in possession of liberty, and at the head of a nume-

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rous and powerful party. Mary Stuart might at any hour be removed out of the way: to prevent Henry from ascending the throne, battles were to be fought, and a war of extermination to be waged. Their fortunes corresponded with their circumstances. She perished on a scaffold: he, after a long and obstinate struggle, secured the crown on his head, by conforming to the religion professed by the majority of his subjects.

Origin of the league in France.

The man who organized this opposition to the right of Henry was the young duke of Guise, a prince who had inherited the talents with the ambition of his family; and whose zeal for religion was animated by the desire of avenging the murder of his father. While Anjou lay on his death-bed, the duke consulted his friends, and resolved to call into action the dormant energies of the league: the former was no sooner dead, than the emissaries of the latter spread themselves throughout the kingdom, exhorting the people to reform the abuses of the government, to provide for the permanence of their religion, and to learn a useful lesson from the example of a neighbouring realm, where even a woman, in possession of the sovereign authority had been able to abolish the national worship, and to exclude the catholic nobility from their legitimate influence in the state. Assemblies were held: treaties were signed; and the cardinal of Bourbon, the uncle of Henry, was declared first prince of the blood, and presumptive heir to the

1585. March 31.

throne.[1] The king of France, though he deemed the league an act of treason against his authority, found it prudent to place himself at its head; but the leaguers, suspicious of his intentions, compelled him to pursue measures the most hostile to his feelings. The wars and pacifications, the perjuries, murders, and crimes which ensued, are foreign from the subject of this history; but it is necessary to observe, that Elizabeth kept her eyes fixed on the struggle between the two parties; that she believed her own interests to be intimately connected with those of the king of Navarre; and that much of her conduct for some years was suggested by a wish to avoid the dangers which she anticipated from the final success of the duke of Guise. To Henry she sent large sums of money, and made an offer of an asylum in England whenever he might find himself an unequal match for his enemies. Under her protection he would live in security; and might at some subsequent period make a more fortunate attempt in support of his claim.[2]

Treaty between Elizabeth and the Belgian insurgents.

Among the princes who had subscribed their names to the league, the most powerful was the king of Spain. But though he promised much, he performed little. His great object was the reduction of the Netherlands. The French ex-

[1] See his declaration in the Memoires de Nevers, i. 641—647.

[2] Strype, iii. 395.

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pedition under Anjou had formerly disconcerted his plans; he now persuaded himself that, if he could keep alive the flame of civil war in France, nothing could interrupt the victorious career of his general Farnese, the celebrated prince of Parma.[3] To his surprise a new and most formidable obstacle was opposed from a quarter whence it was not expected. The states despairing of aid from France, threw themselves on the pity of England: and the deputies of the revolted provinces, falling on their knees, besought Elizabeth to accept of the Belgian people for her subjects. Their petition was supported by the leading members of the council, by Leicester, Burleigh, and Walsingham; who maintained that their sovereign owed it to her religion to succour the professors of the reformed faith; to her people, to disable Philip from invading England, by taking possession of his maritime provinces. But the queen was a firm believer in the divine right of kings: she could not persuade herself that the Spanish monarch had forfeited the sovereignty of the states; nor that subjects had, under any pretext, the right of transferring their allegiance. To accept the offer, she contended, would disgrace her in the eyes of the other sovereigns, and would form a precedent dangerous to herself. To silence these

1585. June 29.

[3] See in the Memoires de Nevers, the letters from Rome of the duke of Nevers to the cardinal of Bourbon, and to the duke and the cardinal of Guise.

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scruples, Leicester had recourse to the authority of the bishops. If the metropolitan declined the task, on the plea that the catholic princes must have as much right to send forces to the aid of the English catholics, as Elizabeth could have to support foreign protestants, the earl found a more zealous, or more courtly, casuist in the bishop of Oxford, who pronounced the measure not only lawful in itself, but one which the queen could not in conscience reject.[4] While, however, *she* consulted, the prince of Parma improved his former advantages: after an obstinate defence Antwerp capitulated; and Elizabeth, subdued by the importunities of her favourite, the arguments of her counsellors, and the solicitations of the deputies, consented to sign a treaty with the states, not as their sovereign, but as their ally; not to withdraw them from their dependence on the Spanish crown, but to recover for them those franchises, which they formerly enjoyed. It was stipulated that she should furnish, at her own cost, an auxiliary army of six thousand men; that her expenses should be repaid within five years after the restoration of peace; and that she should retain,

Sept.

[4] The bishop argued that the queen, according to the scriptures, was a nursing mother of the church: now the church was not confined to England, but embraced all the professors of the gospel; it was therefore her duty to protect them, even in foreign countries, from the tyranny of idolaters. See Strype's life of Whitgift, 229 231. and Records, 97.

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as securities, the towns of Brill and Flushing, and the strong fort of Rammekins.[5]

Treaty with Scotland.

In these circumstances it became of the first importance to secure the amity of Scotland. On the fickle and temporizing character of the king, little reliance could be placed: he was ready to intrigue with every party, and to profess attachment to every prince who would relieve his necessities with money. But experience had shewn that Scotland might be ruled by a faction in defiance of the sovereign; and most of the royal counsellors had already been bought with the presents and promises of Elizabeth. Even Arran made the tender of his services; but his sincerity was doubted: and

May 20. Wotton was dispatched as ambassador to watch his conduct, and undermine his influence. The intrigues of Wotton were aided by an acci-

July 16. dental rencontre on the borders, in which lord Russel, the son of the earl of Bedford, perished. There was nothing to distinguish this from other similar affrays: but the English council pretended that it was the result of a plot to provoke hostilities between the nations; and required the surrender of its supposed authors, Kerr of Fernihurst, and Arran the protector of Kerr. To elude the demand James placed both under arrest: and Wotton improved the opportunity of Arran's absence from court, to weave

[5] Rymer, xv. 93—98. Camden, 444. 446.

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a new and more important intrigue. He suggested to the Scottish partisans of Elizabeth, a plan to seize the person of the king, and to transport him into England, or confine him in the castle of Stirling. His secret was betrayed; and the ambassador, by a precipitate flight, escaped the vengeance of the monarch. The moment he was gone, Arran resumed his seat Oct. 1. in the council: but his activity was checked by the secret friends of Wotton: the exiles, with a supply of English gold, returned across the borders: their numbers swelled as they approached Stirling; they were treacherously admitted into the town; and the king, unable to resist, opened the gates of the castle. He was Nov. 3. now at the mercy of the lords, the partisans of England, who regained their estates and honours, Dec. 10. and received the government of the several forts as places of security.[6] A negociation was opened with Elizabeth: and James, having obtained a promise that nothing should be done to the prejudice of his right to the succession, consented to a treaty, by which the queen of 1586. England and the king of Scotland bound themJuly 5. selves to support the reformed faith against the efforts of the catholic powers; and to furnish to each other a competent aid in case of invasion by any foreign prince. During this negociation

[6] Camden, 436—440. Melville, 167. Spots. 343.

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the name of the queen of Scots seems not to have been even mentioned.[7]

Quarrel between Elizabeth and Leicester.

With this treaty the queen had sufficient reason to be satisfied: but that which she had concluded with the states of Belgium, proved to her a source of uneasiness and regret. The disgrace of aiding rebels, who pretended to depose their lawful sovereign, haunted her mind; she was careful to inculcate, that she entered into the war not as a principal, but as a friend and ally, with no other view than to preserve entire the
Oct. 8. rights both of the prince and of the people; and she strictly forbade the earl of Leicester, the commander of her forces, to engage in any enterprise, or to accept of any honour, which could be construed into an admission, that Philip had lost the sovereignty of the provinces. But the views of the favourite were very different from those of his mistress. His ambition aspired to the place, which had been possessed and for-
Dec. 8. feited by the duke of Anjou; and, on his arrival in Holland, he asked, and after some demur obtained, from the gratitude of the states, the title of excellency, the office of captain-general of the united provinces, and the whole control of the army, the finances, and the courts of judicature. When the news reached England, the queen manifested her vexation by the violence

[7] Camden, 466—473. Rymer, xv. 803.

of her language. She charged Leicester with presumption and vanity, with contempt of the royal authority, with having sacrificed the honour of his sovereign to his own ambition; but when she was afterwards told, that he had sent for his countess, whom she hated, and was preparing to hold a court, which in splendour should eclipse her own, she burst into a paroxysm of rage, swearing "with great oaths, "that she would have no more courts under her "obeysance than one," and that she would let the upstart know how easily the hand which had raised him, could also beat him to the ground.[8]

If Elizabeth's anger alarmed, Leicester's silence and apathy perplexed, the lords of the council. It was in vain that they offered apologies for his conduct, and forged dispatches from him to appease her displeasure.[9] She was, or pretended to be, inexorable. Each day she announced his immediate recal: his friends were loaded by her with injuries: her letters to him were filled with reproaches and threats. But the earl scorned to submit, or to betray any sign of repentance. Convinced of his influence

1586. Feb. 10.

[8] Hardwicke papers, 299.

[9] I think I may call it a forgery. Leicester had written to Hatton a letter, which the ministers determined to suppress, as it was more calculated to irritate, than to appease the queen. Afterwards, finding it necessary to gain time, "they conferred of the letter again, and "blotting out some things, which they thought would be offensive, "and mending some other parts as they thought best," they presented it to her. Hardwicke papers, 300.

over her heart, he left to his colleagues in England, the task of vindicating his conduct, and continued to act as if he were beyond the reach of her authority. His time was spent in progresses from one city to another; every where he gave and received the most sumptuous entertainments; and on all occasions displayed the magnificence of a sovereign prince.[10] In these altercations, three months were suffered to roll away. Elizabeth always threatened, but had never the resolution to strike: and her resentment was, at last, subdued by the address of lord Burleigh. That minister, under pretence that his services were useless, tendered his resignation. She called him a presumptuous fellow: but the next morning her passion had subsided; she listened to the remonstrances of the council, and consented that a plentiful supply of men and money should be sent to the captain-general of the Netherlands.[11]

March 30.

Campaign in the Netherlands.

The arrival of the English army had revived the drooping spirits of the Belgians: its presence in the field, while it gave a lustre to their cause, could retard, but did not repel, the vic-

[10] There was one exception to this round of entertainments, a day of general fast. Neither Leicester himself, nor any one in his household, was allowed to eat or drink till after sunset. From the dawn till that hour they were employed in public prayer, listening to the discourses of the preachers, and chanting psalms. See Stow, 713, 714.

[11] All these particulars may be found in the Hardwicke papers, 297, 329, and in Camden, 459.

torious advances of the Spaniards. The troops, indeed, fought with their accustomed valour; they gained some partial advantages; they wrested some towns from the possession of the enemy. But Leicester proved no match for Farnese; the accomplished courtier for the experienced and victorious general. At the close of the campaign, the balance of success was considerably in favour of the prince of Parma; and the earl, on his return to the Hague, was received with murmurs and remonstrances. Though he had conceived the most sovereign contempt for the members of the states, as an assembly of merchants and shopkeepers, whose patriotism consisted in purchasing, at the lowest price, the services and blood of their allies; yet he found it difficult to return a satisfactory answer to their complaints, that the result of the campaign had not been answerable to its expense, nor the number of the English forces in the field equal to the number stipulated by treaty: that he had violated their privileges, ruined their finances, neglected military discipline, and extorted money by arbitrary and illegal expedients. In a moment of passion he dissolved the assembly: it continued to sit in defiance of his menaces: he next had recourse to concessions and promises; announced his intentions of returning to England; and proposed to intrust the supreme authority, during his absence, to sir William Pelham, or sir William

Oct. 22.

Oct. 29.

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Stanley, or sir Roland York. The states claimed it as their own right: he submitted; and resigned the government in a public sitting; though, at the same time, by a private instrument, he reserved it to himself. The cause of this hasty and informal proceeding was his anxiety to obey the command of Elizabeth, that he should immediately return, and aid her with his advice in the important cause of the queen of Scots.[12]

Parties in favour of Mary Stuart.

The misfortunes of that princess were, at length, drawing to a close: her friends had blindly leagued themselves with her enemies, to conduct her to the scaffold. The exiles, whom religion or interest induced to espouse her cause, had soon become split into factions, which laid on each other the blame of their repeated failures and disappointments. Morgan and Paget, who, as the administrators of the queen's dower in France, found numerous adherents among the more needy of their companions, complained with bitterness that the introduction of the jesuit missionaries had rendered the English government more suspicious and vigilant: that tracts had been written, which could only lead to irritation and severity: and that Persons and his brethren had monopolized the office of advocating the claims of

[12] Camden, 460. 463. Stow, 729. 740. Bentivoglio, ii. 92. 99. Strada, l. viii. anno 1586.

Mary in foreign courts, to the exclusion of laymen, who were better adapted for such duties, and to the prejudice of the Scottish queen herself, whose secrets had been betrayed by the confession of Holt in the castle of Edinburgh, by that of Creighton in the Tower of London, and by the disclosures made by their partisan Gray, during the negociation at Greenwich.[13] Their opponents replied, that the measures thus condemned, had mainly contributed to the preservation of the catholic worship in England: that Morgan and Paget were, at best, suspicious characters, since they were connected with men known to be the emissaries of Walsingham: that their impatience or perfidy had often caused them to adopt dangerous and unlawful projects: and that the real friends of Mary should have for their chief object the preservation of her life, and should therefore reject every plan, the discovery or failure of which might lead to her death. With these agreed her ambassador, the archbishop of Glasgow, and all her relations of the house of Guise: but Morgan and Paget possessed friends, to whom the habit of daily intercourse gave a greater influence over her

[13] It seems to have been the treachery of Gray that made her throw herself into the arms of this party. Gray had been sent with letters from Holt to Persons, at Paris, and was admitted by him and his friends into all their secrets. Murdin, 422. Mary writes to Castelnau, "Ce voyage de Gray n'a pas nuit seulement "à son credit, mais à celuy de ceux, qui se sont tant voulu mesler "avec luy." Jebb, ii. 670.

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counsels, Nau and Curle, her two secretaries, shut up with her in her prison.[14]

Morgan's intrigues.

Against Morgan, the English queen was animated with the most violent hatred. The charge brought against him by Parry, though unsupported by oral or written testimony, had provoked her to declare that she would give ten thousand pounds for his head; and, when she sent the order of the garter to the French king, she demanded in return the person of Morgan.

1585. March 9.

Henry dared not refuse, and was ashamed to consent. He adopted a middle course: he confined the Welshman in the bastile, and sent his papers to the queen.[15] Morgan employed his time in meditating schemes of revenge; and for this purpose, with the aid of Paget, he procured the means of corresponding with Mary; and to effect his purpose, sought out agents and associates in every part of England. But he was opposed by one more artful than himself, by the secretary Walsingham, who corrupted the fidelity of his agents, supplied them with the means of correspondence, and secretly encouraged the intrigues of the Welshman, that he might connect the Scottish queen herself with the plot, and finally conduct his victim to the scaffold.

[14] See the letters of Morgan and Paget, in Murdin, 442. 459. 465, 479. 496. 499. 507. 516. See also More, Hist. Provinciæ Anglicanæ, 138. and Bartoli, 277. I observe that Morgan, in his letters, always speaks of Allen in terms of respect and friendship, particularly p. 497.

[15] Murdin, 440—444. 471. Jebb, 577. Egerton, 3.

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Morgan's first application was made to Christopher Blount, a catholic gentleman in the household of Leicester. But Blount was too cautious to endanger himself: he recommended for the hazardous office of transmitting intelligence, one Pooley, a servant to lady Sydney, the daughter of Walsingham. Pooley made repeated journeys to Paris, feigned himself a catholic, brought letters to Mary, and was intrusted with the secrets of her friends in England.[16] But he was probably at this moment, he certainly became in a short time, a spy for Walsingham.

Pooley.

July 20. 1586. Jan. 28.

The next agents whom Morgan employed, were Gifford and Greatley, two traitors, who had studied in the English seminaries, had taken orders, and had consented to become panders to the artful and intriguing secretary. They were more than suspected by many of the catholics; but they deceived the credulity of the Welshman, acknowledging that they received the pay of the government, but protesting that they had no other object than to serve, with greater security, the captive queen. Morgan recommended them, in the strongest terms, to Mary. They came to England, went back to Paris, and returned again with ample instructions, which they communicated to Walsingham.[17]

Gifford and Greatley 1585 Oct. 15.

1586. April 24.

There was yet a fourth and more important emissary, a gentleman who, dressed in the garb

Ballard.

[16] Ibid. 446. 449. 451. 480. 497. [17] Ibid. 454. 455. 470. 511

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of an officer, and assuming the name of Fortescue, had been observed during the last summer and autumn to visit the families of several recusants. By the means of Maude, who insinuated himself into the confidence of the stranger, it was discovered that he was John Ballard, a catholic priest, and that his object was to sound the disposition of his hosts, and to collect intelligence for the exiles. Maude was a master in the art of dissimulation. He accompanied the envoy on a tour along the western coast, through part of Scotland, the northern counties of England, and thence through Flanders to Paris. On his way, Ballard communicated his intentions to Allen, by whom they were strongly disapproved: but Morgan and Paget exhorted him to persevere, and introduced him, through Greatley, to

April 29. Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador. He informed that minister, that the best part of the English forces had landed with Leicester in the Low Countries; that not only the catholics, but many of the protestants, were ready to espouse the cause of the queen of Scots; and that they only waited for the appearance of a foreign force to rise in her favour. But Mendoza was not satisfied with the information of the agent: he would undertake only to recommend the matter in general terms to his sovereign, and to promise that, if a powerful party could be organized in England, it should receive prompt and competent assistance from the

prince of Parma. Both Morgan and Paget were disappointed by the coldness of the Spaniard. They knew that Savage, an officer who had served in the wars of Flanders, had undertaken to assassinate Elizabeth ;[18] and they persuaded themselves that a sufficient party, to liberate the Scottish queen, might easily be formed with the aid of Babington of Dethick, in Derbyshire. For this purpose, Ballard was sent back to England, May 22. with orders to return in a short time, and report the result of his mission to Mendoza. Maude, his companion, transmitted information of every particular to Walsingham.[19]

Babington.

Mary, who had been forewarned of the suspicious character of the man, refused to receive any communication from Ballard: but the more ardent mind of Babington neglected such precaution. He was a young man of family and fortune, who had transmitted letters to the queen of Scots, when she resided in Sheffield, and had always professed the most chivalrous attachment to her cause. It was his own opinion that no attempt should be made in favour of Mary

[18] In his confession in the Tower, Savage says that he was persuaded to this crime by the Gifford already mentioned, and by another Gifford, afterwards archbishop of Rheims, for the good of religion, and to revenge the death of Throckmorton. But such confessions, as we have often seen, deserves little credit, and this, in particular, contains much that appears very questionable. See it in Howell's State Trials, i. 1130.

[19] Ibid. 1137. 1144. Strype, iv. 100. Murdin, 517. 527. 530. Camden, 474.

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during the life of Elizabeth: but when he was told by Ballard, that Savage had engaged to murder the queen, and that the prince of Parma would land at the same time with a powerful force, he waived his objections, and observed, that the death of Elizabeth was of too great importance to be left to the good fortune and intrepidity of one man: that six gentlemen ought to be appointed to that service, while others should liberate the Scottish queen: and that he had several dear and trusty friends, who, he persuaded himself, would risk their lives and fortunes to serve the captive princess, and to relieve their brethren from the yoke of persecution.[20]

May 27.

Counterplot of Walsingham.

During the month of June, Babington consulted alternately with Ballard and Savage on the one hand, and with the young men, the companions of his pursuits and pleasures, on the other. The former applauded his resolution; the latter betrayed a reluctance which he could not comprehend. But his ardour grew with their resistance: he laboured to remove their objections; and the result of every conference was regularly communicated by Pooley to Walsingham. That artful minister, while he smiled at the infatuation of the youths, who had thus entangled themselves in the toils, was busily employed in weaving a new intrigue, and planning the ruin of a more illustrious victim. By his command, Gifford repaired to the residence

June 5. to June 25.

[20] Hardwicke papers, 226.

of an uncle in the neighbourhood of Chertsey; secured, by a bribe, the services of a man employed to convey beer to the castle, and opened, under the connivance of Pawlet, a correspondence with the two secretaries, Nau and Curle. In a few days a note was put, by an unknown messenger, into the hands of Babington. It came from Gifford, but was written in the cipher of Mary, and, after a gentle reprimand for the discontinuance of his services, requested him to forward to Chertsey a package which he had received from the French ambassador. Babington had no suspicion of treachery: he rejoiced in his good fortune; and sent with the package a letter from himself to the Scottish queen. The moment it was delivered to Gifford, he forwarded it to Walsingham: in the office of the secretary it was deciphered and transcribed: and then the original, or perhaps a copy, was returned to Gifford, and by him forwarded to Chertsey. After some delay his agent brought him the answer, which, having undergone the same process, and made the same circuitous route, was at last delivered to Babington. Of the real contents of these two letters there may be some doubt: by the copies, which were afterwards produced, Walsingham was able to implicate Mary with the conspirators, and to make her liable to the penalties of death.[21]

July 8.

July 25.

[21] Camden, 479. Thomas Phillips was employed to decipher them, Arthur Gregory to counterfeit the seals. Harrison, the

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Apprehension of Ballard.

Still, however, the plot, if plot it may be called, was only in its infancy. Though consultations had been held, no resolve had been taken: the wishes of Babington were combated by the opposite opinions of his friends; and the invasion, the intended groundwork of every other proceeding, was a contingency depending on the uncertain pleasure of a prince, who had not yet been consulted.[22] It may have been the slow progress of a conspiracy, or the apprehension of immediate danger, or the hope of a commensurate reward, which dictated the conduct of

Aug. 2. Ballard: but, the moment Mary's answer had been deciphered, he offered to disclose the whole proceeding to Walsingham.[23] His services, however, were not wanted; and he was instantly

Aug. 4. apprehended as a seminary priest. The alarm spread among the conspirators; most of them fled; Babington sought, and obtained, what will surprise the reader, an asylum in the house of the secretary himself, with a promise of licence to depart the realm, that he might watch the conduct of the traitors abroad.[24]

private secretary of Walsingham, afterwards charged that minister, Philipps and Maude, with having contrived the whole plot. Cotton, MSS. Cal. c. ix. 458. Chalmers, i. 427.

[22] In the indictment it is said, that on the 27th of July, sir Thomas Gerard entered into the plot. He was not, however, brought to trial. Howell, 1134.

[23] Ibid. 1153.

[24] The story told by Camden (p. 477), of the painting representing Babington and the six assassins, should be corrected by the statement of the queen's counsel at the trial, that it contained only Savage and Tichbourne. Howell, 1138.

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Hitherto Walsingham had kept the secret within his own breast: now he deemed it proper to impart it to his sovereign. Her alarm cut at once the thread of the intrigue. While she praised his ingenuity, she condemned his confidence. To delay, she said, was to tempt the providence of God; to expose her life to imminent danger; she owed it to herself to apprehend the traitors, and to bring them to immediate justice. They received, however, a hint of her intention. Babington escaped from his asylum, but was taken at Harrow, with Gage, Charnock, Barnwell, and Donne, in the house of Bellamy, their common friend. Abington, Salisbury, Jones, Tichbourne, Travers, and Tilney, were brought prisoners from the country. Edward Windsor alone, the brother of lord Windsor, had the good fortune to escape the pursuivants. As for the spies, Gifford was already on the continent; Pooley, after a short imprisonment, was dismissed without trial.

And of the other conspirators.

Aug. 15.

In the fate of these young men the reader will find much to interest his sympathy. They were not of that class, in which conspirators are generally to be found. Sprung from the best families in their respective counties, possessed of affluent fortunes, they had hitherto withdrawn themselves from politics, and had devoted their time to the pursuits and pleasures belonging to their age and station. Probably, had it not been for the perfidious emissaries

Their objects.

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of Morgan and Walsingham, of Morgan who sought to revenge himself on Elizabeth, of Walsingham who cared not whose blood he shed, if he could shed that of Mary, none of them would ever have thought of the crime for which they suffered.[25] There were different gradations in their guilt. Babington was an assassin: he approved and promoted the project of Savage and Ballard. Of the others, Abington, Salisbury, and Donne, though they refused to imbrue their hands in the blood of the queen, offered to undertake the liberation of the royal captive: the remainder condemned both these projects: their real offence consisted in their silence: they scorned to betray the friends who confided in their honour. "It was "my hard fate," exclaimed Jones at the bar, "that I must either betray my friend, whom I "love as myself, or break my allegiance, and "undo myself and my posterity. I desired to "be accounted a faithful friend, and am con-

[25] "Before this thing chanced," says Tichbourne, on the scaffold, "we lived together in most flourishing estate. Of whom went "report in the Strand, in Fleet-street, and elsewhere about London, "but of Babington and Tichbourne? No threshold was of force to "brave our entry. Thus we lived, and wanted nothing we could "wish for: and God knows what less in my head than matters of "state!—I always thought it impious, and denied to be a dealer in "it: but in regard of my friend, I was silent, and so consented." Howell, 1157. He was much pitied by the spectators. Two of his compositions, a short poem written on the evening before his execution, and a letter to his wife on the very morning, have been published by Mr. D'Israeli, Curiosities of Literature, iii. 105.

" demned as a false traitor. The love of Thomas " Salisbury has made me hate myself: but God " knows how far I was from intending treason."[26]

And execution.

They were arraigned in two bodies: some pleaded guilty; the others were convicted on the admissions of their associates in the Tower. Two successive days were allotted for their execution. On the first, the youth, the rank, and the demeanour of the sufferers, excited the pity, the barbarity of their punishment the horror, of the spectators. It was deemed prudent to concede something to the public feeling: and the remaining seven were allowed to expire on the gallows, before their bodies were subjected to the knife of the executioner.[27]

Seizure of Mary's papers. Aug. 1

Previously to the apprehension of the conspirators, Pawlet had been ordered to seize the private papers of his captive, and had promised, in the cant of the age, to perform the commission, " with the grace of the Almighty." The first day that Mary took an airing, he conducted

Aug. 8

[26] Howell, 1155. Babington seems to have behaved ungenerously. He, it was, who sought to inveigle the others into the conspiracy: and yet his confession was the chief proof against them. They urged that he had exaggerated their guilt, to obtain mercy for himself. This was denied by Hatton: but it appears that he cherished some hope, even after condemnation. See his letter to the queen in Howell, 1140.

[27] I shall not harrow the feelings of the reader by detailing the barbarities of their execution. See them in Howell, 1158, Camden. 483 Babington's lands were granted by the queen to sir Walter Raleigh. Murdin, 785. Mrs. Bellamy escaped through a misnomer. Her name was Catherine, and she was related by that to Elizabeth. Howell, 1141.

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her by force to Tixal, restricted her to a particular corner of the house, and debarred her from the use of pen, ink, and paper. After three weeks of solitary confinement, she was
Aug. 28. suffered to return to Chertsey, and entering her apartment, observed that her cabinets were standing open, and that her money, seals, and papers, were gone. After a moment's pause, she turned to Pawlet, and looking on him with an air of dignity, said, "There still remain two "things, sir, which you cannot take away: the "royal blood which gives me a right to the "succession, and the attachment which binds "my heart to the religion of my fathers."[28]

[28] See extracts from Pawlet's letters, in Chalmer's, i. 429, 430. It is to this period that I attribute Elizabeth's celebrated letter to Pawlet. "Amyas, my most careful and faithful servant, God "reward thee trebleſold in the double for thy most troublesome "charge, so well discharged. If you knew, my Amyas, how kindly, "besides dutifully, my grateful heart accepteth your double labours, "and faithful actions, your wise orders, and safe conduct performed "in so dangerous and crafty a charge, it would ease your travel, "and rejoice your heart, in that I cannot balance in any weight of "my judgment, the value that I prize you at: and suppose no "treasure to countervail such a faith: and shall condemn myself "in that fault which I never committed, if I reward not such "deserts. Yea, let me lack when I have most need, if I acknow "ledge not such a merit with a reward non omnibus datum." She proceeds to tell him, that he should exhort Mary to repent for attempting Elizabeth's life: "Her vile deserts compel these orders, "no excuse can serve, it being so plainly confessed by the actors of "my guiltless death." Strype, iii. 361. He never received this great reward non omnibus datum: but the reason is evident. The reader will afterwards see, that he refused to put Mary to death without a warrant, though Elizabeth asked him to do it.

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Order for her trial.

To determine the fate of Mary, Elizabeth solicited the advice of her most trusty counsellors. There were some who endeavoured to save the life of the captive; who pleaded her advancing age, her corporal infirmities, and the probability that her health would sink under the rigour of protracted confinement. But there were more who maintained, that her death was necessary for the security of their religion; and these balanced between the two opposite opinions of Leicester, who recommended the sure but silent operation of poison, and of Walsingham, who contended that the reputation of their sovereign required the solemnity of a public trial. But Walsingham was present: his advice prevailed; and a commission was issued to forty-seven peers, privy counsellors and judges, to inquire into the conduct of Mary, commonly called queen of Scotland, and dowager of France, and to pronounce judgment according to the provisions of an act passed in the twenty-seventh year of the queen's reign. Of this number six-and-thirty, accompanied by the law officers of the crown, repaired to the castle of Fotheringay, to which Mary had been previously transferred.[29]

[29] They were Bromley, lord chancellor, Burleigh, lord treasurer; the earls of Oxford, Kent, Derby, Worcester, Rutland, Cumberland, Warwick, Pembroke, and Lincoln; the viscount Montague; the lords Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Stafford, Grey, Lumley, Stourton, Sands, Wentworth, Mordant, St. John of Bletso, Compton, and Cheney; sir James Croft, sir Christopher Hatton, sir Francis Walsingham, sir Ralph Sadler, sir Walter Mildmay, and

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She received them with courtesy; she listened to the object of their visit with composure; but she firmly refused to submit to their authority. It was derived, she said, from the queen of England. But the queen of England was not her superior. She was an independent princess: nor would she ever disgrace the Scottish crown, by condescending to stand as a criminal at the bar of an English court of justice. No arguments could subdue her resolution; and the commissioners separated, dissatisfied and perplexed. But the tone of her mind relaxed during the solitude and silence of the night: she was distressed by a remark of Hatton, that her obstinacy arose from consciousness of guilt, and in the morning she consented to plead for the sake of her reputation, but on condition that her protest against the authority of the court should be previously admitted. This, after some demur, was granted.[30]

Her judges.

It was perhaps unwise in the Scottish queen to

sir Amyas Pawlet; Wray, chief justice of the common pleas, Anderson, chief justice of the king's bench, Manwood, chief baron of the exchequer, and Gaudy, one of the justices of the common pleas. Camden 486. 495.

[30] During this discussion she observed repeatedly that she could not comprehend that passage in the queen's letter, which said that she was living in England under the queen's protection. She therefore requested an explanation of it from Bromley, the chancellor. It was rather a puzzling question. His reply was evasive: that the meaning was plain enough: but that it was not for subjects to interpret the letters of their sovereign, nor had they come there for that purpose. Howell, 1169, 1170.

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make such a concession. She was placed in circumstances in which, though she might assert, it was almost impossible that she could prove, her innocence. A single and friendless female, ignorant of law, unpractised in judicial forms, without papers, or witnesses, or counsel, and with no other knowledge of the late transactions than could be collected within the walls of her prison, or of the proofs to be adduced by her adversaries than her own conjectures might afford, she could be no match for that array of lawyers which sat marshalled against her: and, if among the judges she discovered two or three secret friends, they were men whose fidelity was suspected, and whose lives and fortunes probably depended on their vote of that day: the rest comprised the most distinguished of those who for years had sought her death in the council, or had clamorously called for it in parliament. Yet under all these disadvantages the queen defended herself with spirit and address. For two days she kept at bay the hunters of her life: and on the third the proceedings were suspended by an unexpected adjournment to Westminster.[31]

First charge against her.

The charge against Mary may be divided into two heads: that, against the statute made in

[31] Lord Burleigh, however, as if Mary did not labour under sufficient disadvantages, composed and circulated on the morning of the trial a paper, which he called a note of the indignities and wrongs offered by the queen of Scots to the queen's majesty. See it in Murdin, 584. Oct. 12.

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the last parliament, she had conspired with foreigners and traitors to procure, 1°. the invasion of the realm; 2°. the death of the queen. In proof of the first part was adduced a multitude of letters, either intercepted or found in her cabinet, between her and Mendoza, Morgan, Paget, and others. These, if they were genuine, and of that there can be little doubt, shewed that she had not only approved of the plan of invasion devised at Paris, but had offered to aid its execution, by inducing her friends in Scotland to rise in arms, to seize the person of James, and to prevent the march of succours to England.[32] Mary, though she refused to admit, did not deny, the charge in general. She treated it as frivolous. She was not bound, she said, by their statutes: she was the equal, not the subject of Elizabeth; and between equals and sovereigns there was no other law but the law of nature. That law fully authorized her to seek her deliverance from an unjust captivity. She had first

[32] This project to seize the person of James, and carry him out of the kingdom, did her much harm. Yet it would have been fair to recollect that it was suggested to her by the conduct of her enemies, who had repeatedly made themselves masters of the royal person, and of Elizabeth, who had as often required that the king should be sent into England. Another letter was read, in which she expressed an intention of bequeathing to the Spanish king her right to the succession to the English throne. Hardwicke papers, 247. In return she merely observed that she had been forced to such measures. Her enemies had deprived her of all hope in England: she was therefore compelled to purchase friends abroad. Howell, 1188.

offered conditions which even Elizabeth had pronounced reasonable, and had declared that, if they were rejected, she would have recourse to other means. But her prayers, her offers, her warnings had been despised: and who was the man, that in such circumstances could blame her if she consented to accept the tenders of aid, which had been made to her by her friends?

Second charge.

The second part of the charge, that she had conspired the death of the queen, she denied with vehemence and tears. To prove it, the crown lawyers read the copy of a letter from Babington to Mary, in which appeared this passage: "For the dispatch of the usurper, from "obedience of whom, by the excommunication "of her, we are made free, there be six noble "gentlemen, all my private friends, who, for "the zeal they bear to the catholic cause and "your majesty's service, will undertake the tra-"gical execution." This was followed by her supposed answer, in which she was made to say; "When the forces are in readiness both within "and without the realm, then shall it be time to "set the six gentlemen on work, taking good "order that, on the accomplishment of their "designment, I may be suddenly transported "out of this place."[33] If both these passages

[33] To the letter which Babington received, there was a postscript in the same cipher, requesting him, to send to Mary the names of the six gentlemen, who had undertaken to kill the queen. But when the letter was read at his trial, and at the trial of Mary, it appeared

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The proofs of the charge.

were genuine, it was clear that Mary had given her assent to the assassination of Elizabeth.

It should be observed, that the papers exhibited in the court were confessedly copies. No attempt was made to shew what had become of the originals, or when, where, or by whom the copies had been taken. On these points the crown lawyers observed a mysterious and suspicious silence. They deemed it sufficient to shew, that there had once been originals with which the copies corresponded: and for that purpose adduced, 1°. a confession of Babington, that he had written a letter to Mary and had received an answer, containing similar passages, and that he believed these copies faithful transcripts of the originals: 2°. the confessions of Nau and Curle, that the letter of Babington intimated the appointment of six gentlemen to kill the queen; that by the order of their mistress they wrote an answer in cipher; and that the copies now produced appeared to them correct representations of what had been written: 3°. the admission in several of her letters to her foreign correspondents, that she had received from the conspirators an account of their intended proceedings, and had given them instructions on several heads. These confessions and admis-

without any postcript at all. Camden informs us, that it was one of the additions made to the letter in the office of the secretary; quibus subdole additum eodem charactere postscriptum, ut nomina sex nobilium ederet, si non et quæ dam alia. Camden, 497.

sions, it was contended, formed a sufficient proof of the authenticity of the two letters.

Her answer.

The Scottish queen replied, that she had never received from Babington such a letter, nor written to him such an answer as had just been read to the court: that, if her adversaries had wished to discover the truth, instead of putting him to death, they would have produced him as evidence against her: that his confession, if he really made it, was of no value: it might have been dictated by the hope of mercy.[34] That she knew not what Nau and Curle had acknowledged; but that Nau was simple and timid, and that Curle was the follower of Nau: it might be, that they had asserted what was false, under the impression that they would thus save their own lives without endangering hers: that as for the answer attributed to her, she knew nothing of it before the present day: it might have been written in her name by Nau, who had formerly committed a similar offence: or it might have

[34] Hume makes her say, that she never had any correspondence of any kind with Babington, a fact, he observes, of which there remains not the least question. Hence he infers that much reliance is not to be placed on her denials. But this only shews, that we are not to give implicit credit to the reports of her trial. He was deceived by that, which is usually printed in the State Trials. Her real denial was, that she ever had *such* correspondence with him, as had now been read to her. See the Hardwicke papers, i. 233. She might also have alleged, had she known it, against Babington's confession, that it was made by him in Walsingham's house, while he expected to obtain leave to go abroad, and to deserve mercy by the importance of his disclosures.

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been forged by Walsingham, who, if she were rightly informed, had very recently been practising against her life, and that of her son. At these words the secretary rose, and protested before God, that in his private capacity he had done nothing unbecoming an honest man, nor as a public officer, any thing unworthy of his place. Though his answer was rather an evasion than a denial of the charge, Mary prayed him not to be offended: she had spoken freely, what she had heard; and hoped that he would give no more credit to those who slandered her, than she did to those who accused him.[35] She renewed her declaration that she knew nothing of the obnoxious passages; and asked for her notes—with them she might explain much that seemed obscure—and for her secretaries—were they confronted with her, the truth might soon be elicited—at present they ought to be considered unworthy of credit. They had been sworn to keep her secrets: if they had accused her truly, they had perjured themselves to her; if falsely, they had perjured themselves to the queen of England.

It is plain that, as the originals were not produced, the solution of the difficulty depended on the testimony of Nau and Curle. Elizabeth had foreseen that her captive would ask for them, and had therefore ordered that they should

[35] Camden, 499.

be in attendance.[36] Still they were kept out of the way: Mary demanded to be heard in parliament, or before the council, in the presence of the queen: but the chief commissioners rising, spoke to her in private, and adjourned the assembly to meet on the 25th of October, in the star-chamber at Westminster.

Oct. 25.

On that day Nau and Curle appeared: but then Mary was absent, a close prisoner in the castle of Fotheringay. They are said, in the printed accounts of the trial, to have confirmed what had been advanced out of their confessions. Nau, on the contrary, in his apology to James I., asserts, that he strenuously opposed the chief points of the charge against his mistress.[37] However that may be, the commissioners unanimously gave judgment, that after the last session of parliament, and before the date of the commission, Mary, daughter of James V., commonly called queen of Scotland, pretending title to this crown of England, had compassed and imagined divers matters tending to the hurt, death and destruction of the royal person of the queen, contrary to the form of the statute specified in the commission. They added, however, that this sentence should not derogate from the right or dignity of James, king of Scotland; but that he should continue in the same place,

Judgment against her.

[36] Her letter of October 7, 1586. Cotton MSS. Cal. ix. 329.

[37] Camden, 507.

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rank and right, as if it had never been pronounced.[38]

Elizabeth's hesitation.

The life of the Scottish queen now lay at the mercy of Elizabeth. From foreign powers she could expect no effecual relief. The Spanish monarch had to maintain his ground in Flanders against the combined army of the insurgents and the English: the king of France, harassed by religious wars, might entreat, but he could not intimidate: and with respect to her son, the Scottish king, it was plain that his claim to the succession would render him unwilling, and the English pensioners in his council would render him unable, to draw the sword in her defence. But indecision was one of the leading traits in the character of her adversary. Elizabeth, while her object was at a distance, pressed towards it with impatience; but always hesitated to grasp it, when it came within her reach. The death-warrant of her rival lay ready for her signature: but sometimes her imagination conjured up phantoms of danger from the desperation of Mary's partisans, and the resentment of James, and the catholic powers: sometimes she shuddered at the infamy which would cover her name, if she shed the blood of a kinswoman and a sovereign. As was usual, she sought refuge in procrastination. An interval of a month or two would persuade the world, that she was re-

[38] Camden, 507. On Mary's guilt or innocence, see note (Z).

luctant to take the life of Mary: in the mean time that princess might die a natural death: she might be dispatched by secret violence: at all events, the execution might be performed without the knowledge of the queen, or appear to be wrung from her by the voice of the people.

Her answer to the parliament.

Anticipating the conviction of her prisoner, Elizabeth had summoned a parliament to meet on the fifteenth of October; the length of the trial at Fotheringay compelled her to prorogue it to the twenty-ninth of the same month. The proceedings on the trial were laid before each house: the commissioners in long speeches maintained the guilt of the royal prisoner; and the lords and commons united in a petition, that speedy execution might be done on the convict. Nov. 12. Elizabeth, with many thanks for their loyalty, requested time to deliberate; and inquired, if no expedient could be devised to secure her life Nov. 14. from danger, and at the same time spare her the necessity of taking that of her kinswoman. When the question was put, the members rose in their places, and pronounced such an expedient impossible. The chancellor and speaker communi- Nov. 25. cated the result to the queen: and Elizabeth returned this ambiguous answer: "If I should say "that I mean not to grant your petition, by my "faith, I should say unto you more perhaps than "I mean. And if I should say that I mean to "grant it I should tell you more than is fit for you

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"to know. Thus I must deliver to you an answer answerless."[39]

Sentence of death announced to Mary.

The unwelcome task of announcing these occurrences to Mary, was imposed on lord Buckhurst. In the company of Beal, secretary to the council, and of Pawlet her keeper, he informed her of the judgment of the commissioners, the ratification of it by parliament, and the petition of the two houses; bade her not to look for mercy, for her attachment to the catholic faith rendered her life incompatible with the security of the reformed worship; and offered her the aid of a bishop or dean of the established church to prepare her for death. She replied, that the judgment was unjust, as she had never conspired the murder, nor sought the least injury to the person

Nov. 22.

[39] Lords' Journals, 124, 125. Howell, 1189—1201. D'Ewes, 380. Puckering, the speaker, to induce her to grant the execution, made use of two singular arguments. 1°. Those who had signed the association were bound, by their oath, to kill the queen of Scots. If they should do it without licence, they would incur the indignation of her majesty: if they did not do it, they would be perjured, and incur the indignation of God. 2°. Not only the life, but the salvation of her majesty was at stake. She would offend God by sparing the wicked princess, whom God had delivered into her hands to be put to death. She would beware of imitating Saul, who had spared Agag, and Ahab, who had spared Benhadad. D'Ewes, 401. Sir James Croft, who seems to have excelled all others in religious cant, moved that some earnest and devout prayer to God, to incline her majesty's heart to grant the petition, might be composed and printed, in order to be used daily in the house of commons, and by its members in their chambers and lodgings. Ibid. 404.

of her English sister: that the real crime was her religion, a crime for which she should be proud to shed her blood; and that she wanted not the aid of reformed clergymen, but begged, in the name of Christ, that she might have the services of her own almoner, who was, she knew, in the house, though he had been hitherto excluded from her presence. This request was granted, but only for a short time, during which she wrote two important letters, one to the archbishop of Glasgow, the other to the pope. Both were preserved by her servants, and faithfully delivered after her death.[40] Nov. 23. 24.

Her last requests to Elizabeth.

The judgment of the commissioners had been proclaimed by sound of trumpet in London. The bells tolled for twenty-four hours: bonfires blazed in the streets; and the citizens appeared intoxicated with joy. This intelligence awakened new alarms in the breast of the unfortunate queen. She knew that by the late statute her life lay at the mercy of every member of the asso- Dec. 6.

[40] The next day Pawlet informed her that, as she was now a woman dead in law, she had no right to the insignia of royalty. His servants having removed her canopy of state, he sate down, covered himself in her presence, and, saying that a woman in her situation could have no need of recreation, ordered her billiard table to be taken away. She appears to have felt much on this occasion. See the particulars in her letter to the archbishop, (Jebb, ii. 292,) in which she leaves the vindication of her character to her relatives of the house of Guise, who have been equally accused with herself of seeking the death of Elizabeth. "Je dis, et est vray, "que je n'en avois rien sceu et n'en croiois rien." Ibid. For her other letter to the pope, see note (AA).

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ciation; she recollected the fate of the earl of Northumberland in the Tower; and she persuaded herself that it would be her lot to fall by the hand of an assassin. After many solicitations, she obtained permission to make her

Dec. 19.

last requests to Elizabeth. They were four: that her dead body might be conveyed to France, and deposited near that of her mother; that she might send a jewel, her farewell, and her blessing, to her son; that her servants might be allowed to retain the small bequests which it was her intention to make them; and that she might not be put to death in private, otherwise her enemies would say of her, as they had said of others, that despair had induced her to shorten her days. Throughout the whole letter she carefully avoided every expression, which might be interpreted as a petition for mercy. She thanked God that he had given her the courage to suffer injustice without murmuring; expressed her regret that her papers had not been honestly and entirely submitted to the inspection of Elizabeth, who would then have seen whether the safety of their sovereign was the real object of her adversaries; and as she was about to leave this world, and was preparing herself for a better, hoped it would not be deemed presumption, if she reminded her good sister, that the day would come, when she must render an account of her conduct to an unerring Judge, no less than

those whom she had sent before her.[41] This eloquent and affecting letter drew tears from the eyes of Elizabeth, but no answer was returned.

Elizabeth eludes the request of the king of France.

These extraordinary proceedings had attracted the notice, and excited the wonder of the neighbouring nations. All sovereigns felt a common interest in the fate of Mary; the kings of France and Scotland, as more nearly allied in blood, were more eager to rescue her from death. 1°. Though Henry III. might hate the house of Guise, he could not see, with indifference, the head of a princess, who had worn the crown of France, fall beneath the axe of the executioner. But the weight of his interposition was lightened by the knowledge of his necessities: and the harshness of a direct refusal was eluded by fraud and cunning. He had sent Bellievre with instructions to remonstrate in the most forcible and pointed language. The ambassador found unusual obstacles thrown in his way. He was first delayed under pre- Nov. 20.
text that hired assassins, unknown to him, had insinuated themselves among his followers; and then an inquiry was ordered, whether the plague had not made its appearance in his household. At last he was introduced to the queen, who Nov. 27.
was seated on her throne, and surrounded by

[41] See Jebb, ii. 295. and Mauvissiere's copy in the life of lord Egerton, by F. H. Egerton, p. 93. "There ys a letter from the Scottish queen that hath wrought tears; but I trust shall doe no further herein; albeit the delay is to dangerous. Leicester to Walsingham. Ellis, ii. 22.

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her officers of state. She listened to him with impatience; and replied in a long and studied harangue, but with a tone of asperity and flush of countenance, which betrayed her inward emotion. She exaggerated the guilt of Mary, and claimed the praise of forbearance. She was, indeed, loath to shed the blood of one so nearly allied to her; but she knew not how to refuse the just prayer of her people. He must, therefore, be content to wait a day or two, and he should receive her final determination. For more than a month Bellievre attended at court: all his applications were fruitless; and, when every other excuse had been exhausted, he was told that the queen would send an answer by a messenger of her own.[42] After his departure, L'Aubespine, the resident ambassador, resumed the negociation: he was silenced by a low and unworthy artifice. An uncertain rumour had been spread of a new plot to assassinate Elizabeth; and the ministers informed L'Aubespine, that he had been pointed out to them as the author of the conspiracy. They professed, indeed to disbelieve, the charge; yet

1587. Jan. 3.

Jan. 8.

[42] See a very interesting account from the Registre de depêches de M. de Villeroy, secretaire d'état, published in the life of lord Egerton, p. 6, 7. When Bellievre told her that the king would resent the execution of Mary, she asked, "Sir, have you authority "from your sovereign to employ such language?" "Yes, madam, "he has expressly commanded me to use it." "Is your authority "signed with his own hand?" "It is, madam." "Then I require "you to testify as much in your own writing." This he did, p. 7. Bellievre's arguments are in Camden, 522—526.

his secretary was imprisoned, and his dispatches were intercepted. He replied with warmth and contempt; Henry resented the insult offered to his representative; and all official correspondence through the ambassadors of the two courts was interrupted. The object of this artifice did not, however, escape the French monarch; he condescended to dispatch another envoy; but no representations, no entreaties could procure for him access to the queen. At length Mary perished; then apologies were made; the charge against L'Aubespine was attributed to false information; and both the ambassador and his master were loaded with compliments and praise.[43]

Refuses that of the king of Scots.

2°. Hitherto James of Scotland had appeared indifferent to the fate of his mother. He had no objection to her captivity, which freed him from a dangerous rival; and he was taught to believe that to interfere in her favour, was to endanger his succession to the English throne. But the exhortations of the king of France, and

[43] Stafford, brother to the English ambassador in France, requested De Trappes, secretary to L'Aubespine, to accompany him to one Moody, a prisoner for debt. De Trappes consented. Moody offered to kill the queen, if the ambassador would pay his debt. De Trappes reprimanded him for his presumption; and L'Aubespine immediately pronounced it an artifice to defeat the object of his negociation by rendering him suspected by Elizabeth. Compare Camden's narrative (520) and the original examination in Murdin, (578—583) with Villeroy's registre, p. 7. L'Aubespine's dispatches were intercepted; but contained no allusion to the supposed conspiracy. Jebb, ii. 324.

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the remonstrances of the nobility, awakened him from his apathy, and induced him to display the affection of a son, and the spirit of a sovereign. He wrote to Elizabeth: he ordered the Scottish resident, Archibald Douglas, to remonstrate:

1586. Dec. 10.

he sent sir Robert Keith, and afterwards the master of Gray, and sir Robert Melville, to employ entreaties and threats. They suggested that Mary's life should be spared, on condition that she resigned all her rights to her son: this would secure Elizabeth from the fear of a competitor, and the established church from the enmity of a catholic successor. It was replied, that after her condemnation, Mary had no rights to resign. They protested, in their master's name, that he would be compelled, in honour, to revenge her death. The menace was received with the most marked contempt.[44] There can be little doubt that James was sincere; but he employed men to negociate in favour of his mother, who deemed her death necessary for their own safety. Gray publicly performed the duty intrusted to him; privately he whispered in the ear of Elizabeth, that "the dead

[44] See Gray's dispatch, Robertson, ii. App. xiv. She would not understand their proposal. "So the earl of Leicester answered, "that our meaning was, that the king should be put in his "mother's place. Is it so, the queen answered, then I put myself, "in a worse case than before; by God's passion, that were to cut "my own throat, and for a dutchy, or an earldome to yourself, you "or such as you, would cause some of your desperate knaves to kill "me. No, by God, he shall never be in that place." Ibid.

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"cannot bite." On his return James expressed his suspicions; but the favourite was able to persuade the king of his innocence, and to divert the royal vengeance from himself to his accomplice, Archibald Douglas.[45]

Signs the warrant.

After the publication of the sentence, Elizabeth spent two months in a state of apparent irresolution; but that irresolution arose, not from any feeling of pity, but from a regard to her own reputation: and she was often heard to lament, that among the thousands who professed to be attached to her as their sovereign, not one would spare her the necessity of dipping her hands in the blood of a sister queen. Preparatory to the execution, a precept had been directed to certain members of the association: for it was substituted a warrant, in the usual Dec. 10.

[45] See the dispatches in Robertson, ii. App. xiii. xiv. The records of the treachery of Gray and Douglas, are their own letters. "The "necessity of all honest men's affairs requires that she were out of "the way." Sept. 8. Murdin, 568. "This is a hard matter to the "king not to make any mediation for his mother; yet the matter is also "hard for you and me, although we might do her good: for I know "as God lives, it shall be a staff to break our own heads. He has "commanded you to deal very instantly for her: but if matters "might stand well between the queen and our own sovereign, I "care not if she were out of the way." Lodge, ii. 331. "By God, "the matter is hard to you and me both." Nov. 27. Murdin, 573. "Answer ye to the queen there and all my honourable friends, that "they shall find me always constant, and that in my negociation "I shall do nothing but for their contentment, reserving my duty to "my sovereign." Dec. 9. Lodge, ii. 335. "By God, I say this "far, if ever she (Elizabeth) knew me do wrong, it was for that I en- "tered further for her service than good reason permitted." Dec. 25. Murdin, 575.

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form, to the sheriff of Northampton;[46] and this was superseded by a commission, from the pen of Burleigh, to the earl of Shrewsbury, as earl marshal, with the earls of Kent, Derby, Cumberland, and Pembroke, as his assistants. The last met with the queen's approbation; she signed it at the end of six weeks, and ordered Davison, her secretary, to take it to the great seal; adding, with a smile of irony, that on his way he might call on Walsingham, who was sick, and who, she feared, "at the sight of it, "would die outright." Then recollecting herself, as it were, she said, "Surely Pawlet and "Drury," (the latter had been lately appointed additional keeper of Mary) "might ease me of "this burden. Do you and Walsingham sound "their disposition."[47]

Dec. 20.

1587. Feb. 1.

But proposes private assassination.

A letter was accordingly forwarded to Fotheringay. It informed the two keepers, that the queen charged them with lack of care for her service, otherwise they would long ago have shortened the life of their captive. Of her guilt they could not doubt after her trial; and the oath of association which they had taken, would have cleared their consciences before God, their reputations before men. Pawlet was a

Feb. 2.

[46] They are Murdin, 574. 576.

[47] I know not whether Walsingham's illness was feigned or real: but after the charge made against him by Mary at Fotheringay, he took no part in the proceedings against her, but retired from court for two months, and only returned on the Tuesday after her death. Egerton, 8.

stern and unfeeling bigot. He hated Mary, because she was a catholic; he sought her death, because he believed her the enemy of his religion. Yet he was an honest man, too intelligent to be the dupe of such sophistry, and too resolute to sacrifice his conscience to the will of his mistress. He replied, the same day, that his goods, living, and life, were at the queen's service: he was ready, if it pleased her, to forfeit them the next morning: but he would never make so foul a shipwreck of his conscience, or leave so great a blot on his posterity, as to shed blood without law or warrant.[48]

Dissembles with Davison.

Davison little suspected that he was destined to be the victim of Elizabeth's dissimulation. The next morning she forbade him to take the warrant to the chancellor: and when she heard that the seal was already affixed, expressed her surprise, and her persuasion, that the death of the Scottish queen might be better accomplished by some other expedient. The following day she repeated the same language; and when he read to her the answer of Pawlet, burst into expressions of anger and disappointment. That

Feb. 3.

[48] Hearne's Robert of Gloucester, 673—676. Davison repeatedly requested that these letters might be burnt, "because they "were not fit to be kept." Pawlet replied, "If I should say I have "burnt the papers you wot of, I cannot tell if any body would be-"lieve me: and therefore I reserve them to be delivered into your "own hands at my coming to London." Feb. 8th. Chalmers, i. 447. He might do so: but the letter and answer had previously been entered into his letter-book. Had this not happened, the fact would never have come to light.

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gentleman was no longer "her dear and faithful Pawlet," as she had lately called him: he was now "a precise and dainty fellow," who, in words, would promise much, in deed, perform little; one who, notwithstanding his oath, would perjure himself, in order to throw the blame from his own shoulders upon hers. But she knew of others less scrupulous. To them she would apply; and, in the midst of these complaints, she abruptly retired into her closet.

Davison now felt alarmed. From the ambiguous language of the queen, he knew not whether to detain or to forward the warrant; and, to exonerate himself, he delivered it to lord Burleigh, from whom he had received it originally. That nobleman called a council, in which it was unanimously resolved, that the queen had done all that the law required at her hands: that to trouble her further was needless, dangerous, and unpleasant to her feelings: that it was their duty to take the responsibility on themselves: and that on these accounts the warrant should be dispatched immediately, under the care of Beal, the clerk of the council.[49]

Feb. 4.

The commissioners at Fotheringay. Feb. 7.

For two or three days the servants of Mary observed with surprise the frequent arrival of

[49] See Davison's answers to the commissioners in Strype, iii. 375. His apologies in Robertson, ii. App. xix. and Whitaker, iii. 544. Also Camden, 545. If I can understand Burleigh's short notes in Strype, iii. App. 142, Leicester informed the council, that it was the queen's pleasure they should proceed; but at the same time, should conceal the particulars from her.

strangers at Fotheringay. On the seventh of February, the earl of Shrewsbury was announced; and his office of earl marshal instantly suggested the fatal object of his visit. The queen rose from her bed, dressed and seated herself by a small table, having previously arranged her servants, male and female, on each side. The earl entered uncovered; he was followed by the earl of Kent, the sheriff, and several gentlemen of the county; and Beal, after a short preface, read aloud the warrant for the execution. Mary listened, without any change of countenance. Then, crossing herself, she bade them welcome: the day, she said, which she had long desired, had at last arrived: she had languished in prison near twenty years, useless to others, and a burden to herself: nor could she conceive a termination to such a life more happy, or more honourable, than to shed her blood for her religion. She next enumerated the wrongs which she had suffered, the offers which she had made, and the artifices and frauds employed by her enemies; and in conclusion, placing her hand on a testament which lay on the table, "As for the death of the queen your "sovereign," said she, "I call God to witness, "that I never imagined it, never sought it, nor "ever consented to it."

Mary makes oath of her innocence.

"That book," exclaimed the earl of Kent, "is a popish testament, and of course the oath "is of no value." "It is a catholic testament," rejoined the queen, "on that account I prize it

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" the more: and, therefore, according to your " own reasoning, you ought to judge my oath " the more satisfactory." The earl, in return, exhorted her to abandon all papistical superstition, to save her soul by embracing the true faith, and to accept the spiritual services of the dean of Peterborough, a learned divine, appointed by the queen. But Mary replied, that she was perhaps better versed in controversy than he thought: she had read much, and had attended to the most learned of the reformed preachers; but had never heard of any argument which should induce her to leave the faith of her fathers. Wherefore, in place of the dean of Peterborough, whom she would not hear, she requested that she might have the aid of Le Preau, her almoner, who was still in the house. This was the last and only indulgence she had to demand.

It was answered, that her request could not be granted. It was contrary to the law of God, and the law of the land: and would endanger the safety both of the souls and bodies of the commissioners. A long and desultory conversation followed. Mary asked if her son had forgotten his mother in her distress; whether none of the foreign powers had interceded in her favour; and lastly, when she was to suffer. To this question the Earl of Shrewsbury answered, but with considerable agitation, "To " morrow morning at eight o'clock."

The earls had risen, when the queen inquired

what was become of her two secretaries; and not receiving a satisfactory answer, asked with much earnestness, whether Nau were dead or alive. Drury replied that he was still in prison. "What!" she exclaimed, "is my life to be ta-"ken, and Nau's life spared? I protest before "God," putting her hand again on the book, "that Nau is the author of my death. He has "brought me to the scaffold, to save his own "life. I die in the place of Nau. But the "truth will soon be known."[50]

[50] "Quoy, je mourray, et Nau ne mourra pas! Je proteste," mettant la main sur le livre, "que Nau est cause de ma mort. Nau me faict mourir pour se sauver. Je meurs pour Nau." Jebb, ii. 621. It has been argued, that this solemn asseveration is unworthy of credit, because the same evening she rewarded, as faithful servants, Nau and Curle, by her bequests to them in her will. On the contrary, the contemporary account of her death says, that she marked her sense of Nau's conduct in her will, though in obscure terms, lest the English ministers should observe it, and destroy the instrument. (Ibid. 663.) On a reference to the will itself, this appears to have been the case. Nau is to have his wages, pension, and a large sum of money; but only if he prove, that he has fulfilled certain conditions well known to her servants. Goodall, i. 413, 414. She every where makes a distinction between him and Curle, whom she considered as seduced by Nau. But of Curle himself, it is but fair, that I relate the testimony given by Henry Clifford, the biographer of the dutchess of Feria. "I was present at his death, when a little before calling F. Cres-"well, and the gentlemen, and men of anie fashion, both English "and Scots, he there protested, upon hope of his salvation, of his "fidelitie and true loyaltie, ever to the queene his mistresse, both "living and dead, against the calumnies and imputations putt in "print, the authors being too lightly credulous. And this he "spake (myself being a witness) with great asseveration, protesting "his innocence even at the last gaspe, as he should answer it

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Mary had heard the denunciation of her death with a serenity of countenance, and dignity of manner, which awed and affected the beholders. The moment the earls were departed, her attendants burst into tears and lamentations: but she imposed silence, saying, "This is not a time to weep but to rejoice. In "a few hours you will see the end of my mis- "fortunes. My enemies may now say what they "please: but the earl of Kent has betrayed the "secret, that my religion is the real cause of my "death. Be then resigned, and leave me to "my devotions."

Her employment during the night.

After a long and fervent prayer the queen was called to supper. She ate sparingly; and before she rose from table, drank to all her servants, who pledged her in return on their knees, and prayed her to pardon the faults, which they had committed in her service. She forgave them cheerfully, asking at the same time forgiveness of them, if she had ever spoken or acted towards them unkindly, and concluded with a few words of advice for their future conduct in life. Even in this short address, she again mentioned her conviction, that Nau was the author of her death.

This important night, the last of Mary's life, she divided into three parts. The arrangement

"before the tribunal of the eternal Judge. This I hold myself "bound in conscience to write, for that he desired all the assistants "to witness, what he affirmed on his death-bed." P. 206.

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of her domestic affairs, the writing of her will, and of three letters, to her confessor, her cousin of Guise, and the king of France, occupied the first and longer portion.[51] The second she gave to exercises of devotion. In the retirement of her closet with her two maids, Jane Kennedy and Elspeth Curle, she prayed and read alternately: and sought for support and consolation in the lecture of the passion of Christ, and of a sermon on the death of the penitent thief. About four she retired to rest: but it was observed she did not sleep. Her lips were in constant motion, and her mind seemed absorbed in prayer.

She is summoned to the scaffold. Feb. 8.

At the first break of day her household assembled around her. She read to them her will, distributed among them her clothes and money, and bade them adieu, kissing the women, and giving her hand to kiss to the men. Weeping they followed her into her oratory, where she took her place in front of the altar: they knelt down and prayed behind her.[52]

In the midst of the great hall of the castle had been raised a scaffold, covered with black,

[51] Her letter to her confessor is in Jebb, ii. 303, and Keralio, v. 433. She complains of the cruelty of her enemies in refusing her his aid, and begs of him to pray with her during the night. In that to the king of France, she says, that she dies innocent of any crime against Elizabeth. Jebb, ii. 303. 629.

[52] Conn, in his life of Mary, says, that at this time, she communicated herself in virtue of an indult from Pius V. Jebb, ii. 45. This, from her letter to the pontiff, is plainly a mistake.

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serge, and surrounded with a low railing. About seven the doors were thrown open: the gentlemen of the county entered with their attendants; and Pawlet's guard augmented the number to between one hundred-and-fifty and two hundred spectators. Before eight a message was sent to the queen, who replied that she would be ready in half an hour. At that time, Andrews, the sheriff, entered the oratory: Mary arose, taking the crucifix from the altar in her right, and carrying her prayer book in her left hand. Her servants were forbidden to follow; they insisted; but the queen bade them to be content, and turning, gave them her blessing. They received it on their knees, some kissing her hands, others her mantle. The door closed: and the burst of lamentation from those within resounded through the hall.

Her discourse with Melville.

Mary was now joined by the earls and her keepers: and descending the staircase, found at the foot Melville, the steward of her household, who for several weeks had been excluded from her presence. This old and faithful servant threw himself on his knees, and wringing his hands exclaimed, "Ah, madam, unhappy me! "was ever a man on earth the bearer of such "sorrow as I shall be, when I report that my "good and gracious queen and mistress was "beheaded in England!" Here his grief impeded his utterance: and Mary replied: "Good "Melville, cease to lament; thou hast rather

"cause to joy than mourn: for thou shalt see "the end of Mary Stuart's troubles. Know "that this world is but vanity, subject to more "sorrow than an ocean of tears can bewail. But "I pray thee report, that I die a true woman to "my religion, to Scotland, and to France. May "God forgive them that have long thirsted for "my blood, as the hart doth for the brooks of "water. O God, thou art the author of truth, "and truth itself. Thou knowest the inward "chambers of my thoughts; and that I always "wished the union of England and Scotland. "Commend me to my son; and tell him that I "have done nothing prejudicial to the dignity or "independence of his crown, or favourable to "the pretended superiority of our enemies." Then bursting into tears, she said, "Good Mel-"ville, farewell," and kissing him, "once again, "good Melville, farewell, and pray for thy mis-"tress and queen." It was remarked as something extraordinary, that this was the first time in her life, that she had ever been known to address a person by the pronoun thou.

She demands that her servants be admitted.

Drying up her tears, she turned from Melville, and made her last request, that her servants might be present at her death. But the earl of Kent objected that they would be troublesome by their grief and lamentations, might practise some superstitious trumpery, perhaps might dip their handkerchiefs in her grace's blood. "My "lords," said Mary, "I will give my word for

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"them. They shall deserve no blame. Cer-
"tainly your mistress, being a maiden queen,
"will vouchsafe, in regard of womanhood, that
"I have some of my own women about me at
"my death." Receiving no answer, she continued, "You might, I think, grant me a far
"greater courtesy, were I a woman of lesser call-
"ing than the queen of Scots." Still they were silent: when she asked with vehemence, "Am
"I not the cousin to your queen, a descendant
"of the blood royal of Henry VII., a married
"queen of France, and the anointed queen of
"Scotland?" At these words the fanaticism of the earl of Kent began to yield; and it was resolved to admit four of her men and two of her women servants. She selected her steward, physician, apothecary and surgeon, with her maids, Kennedy and Curle.

Enters the hall.

The procession now set forward. It was headed by the sheriff and his officers: next followed Pawlet and Drury, and the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent: and lastly came the Scottish queen with Melville bearing her train. She wore the richest of her dresses: that which was appropriate to the rank of a queen dowager.[53] Her step was firm, and her countenance

[53] It is thus described: Her head dress was of fine lawn, edged with bone lace, with a veil of the same thrown back and reaching to the ground. She wore a mantle of black printed satin, lined with black taffeta and faced with sables, with a long train, and sleeves hanging to the ground. The buttons were of jet in the form

cheerful. She bore without shrinking the gaze of the spectators, and the sight of the scaffold, the block, and the executioner; and advanced into the hall with that grace and majesty, which she had so often displayed in her happier days, and in the palace of her fathers. To aid her, as she mounted the scaffold, Pawlet offered his arm. "I thank you, sir," said Mary; "it is the last "trouble I shall give you, and the most accept-"able service you have ever rendered me."

Is addressed by the dean of Peterborough.

The queen seated herself on a stool which was prepared for her. On her right stood the two earls, on the left the sheriff and Beal the clerk of the council, in front the executioner from the Tower, in a suit of black velvet, with his assistant also clad in black.[54] The warrant was read, and Mary in an audible voice addressed the assembly. She would have them recollect, she said, that she was a sovereign princess, not subject to the parliament of England, but brought there to suffer by injustice and violence. She, however, thanked her God that he had given her this

of acorns, and set round with pearls; the collar à l'Italienne.—Her purpoint was of black figured satin, and under it a bodice, unlaced on the back, of crimson satin, with the skirt of crimson velvet. A pomander chain with a cross of gold was suspended from her neck, a pair of beads from her waist. The executioner claimed all these articles as his right, but was compelled to surrender them for a sum of money. This account of her dress is taken from Jebb, ii. 307. 640. and R. W.'s narrative in the preface to Hearne's Camden, cxvi. compared with a MS. copy.

[54] Egerton, 8.

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opportunity of publicly professing her religion, and of declaring, as she had often before declared, that she had never imagined, nor compassed, nor consented to, the death of the English queen, nor ever sought the least harm to her person. After her death many things, which were then buried in darkness, would come to light. But she pardoned from her heart all her enemies, nor should her tongue utter that which might turn to their prejudice. Here she was interrupted by Dr. Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, who having caught her eye, began to preach, and under the cover, perhaps through motives of zeal, contrived to insult the feelings of the unfortunate sufferer. He told her that his mistress, though compelled to execute justice on her body, was careful of the welfare of her soul: that she had sent him to bring her to the true fold of Christ, out of the communion of that church, in which if she remained, she must be damned: that she might yet find mercy before God, if she would repent of her wickedness, acknowledge the justice of her punishment, and profess her gratitude for the favours which she had received from Elizabeth. Mary repeatedly desired him not to trouble himself and her. He persisted: she turned aside. He made the circuit of the scaffold, and again addressed her in front. An end was put to this extraordinary scene by the earl of Shrewsbury, who ordered him to pray. His prayer was the echo of his

sermon: but Mary heard him not. She was employed at the time in her devotions, repeating with a loud voice, and in the Latin language, long passages from the book of psalms.[55] When he had done, she prayed in English for Christ's afflicted church, for her son James, and for queen Elizabeth. At the conclusion holding up the crucifix, she exclaimed, "As thy arms, O God, were "stretched out upon the cross, so receive me "into the arms of thy mercy, and forgive me "my sins." "Madam," said the earl of Kent, "you had better leave such popish trumperies, "and bear him in your heart." She replied, "I "cannot hold in my hand the representation of "his sufferings, but I must at the same time "bear him in my heart."

And beheaded.

When her maids, bathed in tears, began to disrobe their mistress, the executioners, fearing to lose their usual perquisites, hastily interfered. The queen remonstrated; but instantly submitted to their rudeness, observing to the earls with a smile, that she was not accustomed to employ such grooms, or to undress in the presence of so numerous a company. Her servants, at the sight of their sovereign in this lamentable state, could not suppress their feelings: but Mary, putting her finger to her lips, commanded silence, gave them her blessing, and solicited their prayers. She then seated herself

[55] These passages were from psalms 31. 51. 91. as they are numbered in the reformed bibles.

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again. Kennedy taking a handkerchief edged with gold, pinned it over her eyes: the executioners, holding her by the arms, led her to the block; and the queen, kneeling down, said repeatedly, with a firm voice, "Into thy hands, "O Lord, I commend my spirit." But the sobs and groans of the spectators disconcerted the headsman. He trembled, missed his aim, and inflicted a deep wound in the lower part of the skull. The queen remained motionless; and at the third stroke her head was severed from the body. When the executioner held it up, the muscles of the face were so strongly convulsed, that the features could not be recognised. He cried as usual, "God save queen "Elizabeth."

"So perish all her enemies!" subjoined the dean of Peterborough.

"So perish all the enemies of the gospel!" exclaimed, in a still louder tone, the fanatical earl of Kent.

Not a voice was heard to cry amen. Party feeling was absorbed in admiration and pity.[56]

[56] We have several interesting accounts of the execution of the Scottish queen by eye-witnesses; one, the official dispatch, by the earl of Shrewsbury, which has been published by Robertson, (ii. App. xviii.) another by R. W. for the use of Lord Burleigh, published by Hearne in the preface to his Camden, cxvi. and by C. Howard, esq. in his anecdotes of the Howard family, 36—66. and a third, still more circumstantial, by one of the servants of Mary, in Jebb. ii. 611—641. The dead body was embalmed the same day, in the presence of Pawlet and the sheriff, by a physician from

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Dissimulation of Elizabeth.

Before the execution of Mary, Elizabeth had balanced between the fear of infamy and the gratification of revenge. The blow had now been struck: her revenge was gratified; and it became her object to escape the infamy, under the shelter of pretended ignorance. The reader will recollect that Davison, instead of dispatching the warrant immediately after it had been signed, retained it till the following morning. Of this he had apprized the queen, but she was careful not to iterate the order: she even suffered six days to elapse without any mention of the warrant: and when its execution was at last announced, she affected the utmost surprise: she swore that she thought it still in the possession of Davison: she burst into tears and lamentations; and when the tumult of her grief was allowed to subside, indulged herself in threats of vengeance against the ministers who had abused her confidence, had usurped her au-

Stamford, and the surgeon of the village. It was afterwards enclosed in lead, and kept in the same room for six months, till the first of August, when Elizabeth ordered it to be interred with royal pomp in the abbey church of Peterborough. The servants of Mary had during all this time been confined close prisoners at Fotheringay. They were now dismissed; and the natives of France repaired to London on their way to their own country, but were detained there during a fortnight, that Nau, who had hitherto remained for security in Walsingham's house, might have leisure to tell his own tale, or perhaps the tale suggested by the secretary, in the French court. After Mary's body had rested twenty-five years at Peterborough, it was transferred to Westminster by order of James, Oct. 11, 1612. See Jebb, ii. 641. 649—661. Hearne's Camden, clxx.—clxxv.

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thority, and without her knowledge or consent, had put to death her good sister the Scottish queen. This dissimulation might perhaps blind the eyes of the multitude; but her secret proposal to Pawlett only a few days before, must prove that, if she grieved at all, it was not because Mary had suffered, but because she had suffered publicly in virtue of a warrant under the sign manual.

Several days, however, elapsed before her grief, whether real or pretended, was made manifest. Either the queen was kept in ignorance of what every other person knew, or, with her usual irresolution, hesitated whether to avow the deed, or to throw the blame on her counsellors.

Feb. 9. On the morning after the execution, at an early hour, a dispatch arrived from lord Shrewsbury.[57] Elizabeth took her usual airing; and after her return entertained herself in the company of don Antonio, the pretender to the crown of Portugal. By noon the report was spread through the city: the bells announced the joyful intelligence; and numerous bonfires illuminated the darkness of the night. Four days, however, were employed in secret consultation,

Feb. 14. before the result was made public. On Monday the ministers were disgraced, and Davison was

Feb. 15. committed to the Tower: on Tuesday, Wal-

[57] There is an abstract of it in Jebb, ii. 641. the whole is published in Robertson, ii. App. xvii.

singham, who had been for two months absent, returned to court: and the next day Elizabeth sending for Roger, groom of the chamber to the French king, desired him to assure his sovereign of her regret for the death of the Scottish queen, of her ignorance of the dispatch of the warrant, and of her resolution to punish the presumption of her ministers. To account for so late a communication, it was reported, that the council had concealed the death of Mary from the queen, who first learned that event from a casual conversation with a lady of the court.[58]

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Feb. 16.

Elizabeth now attempted to prove the sincerity of her regret by the execution of her threats. She suspended the obnoxious ministers from their offices, and ordered them to answer in the star-chamber for their contempt of her authority. But her anger was gradually appeased. In all humility they acknowledged their offence, pleaded the loyalty of their intentions, and submitted to her pleasure. One after another, all, with the exception of Davison, were restored to office and favour.[59] He had earned this distinction

Who punishes Davison the secretary.

[58] See a very interesting letter from L'Aubespine to Henry III. dated Feb. 27, N. S. in Egerton, 7—9, and Camden, 539.

[59] We have several letters from Burleigh to Elizabeth, during his temporary disgrace. Instead of vindicating himself, he submits to her will, and seeks to pacify her with texts of scripture. In March he was called to the council to deliberate on the affairs of Holland; and the queen took the opportunity to charge him with his offence. Her violence was such, that he hastened home,

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by his constant reluctance to unite with his colleagues in their persecution of Mary. He had declined to subscribe "the association," even at the request of the queen: he had eluded the task of examining Babington and his associates in the Tower: he had absented himself, though named in the commission, from the trial at Fotheringay; and had afterwards refused to sign, as the other absent commissioners had signed, the condemnation of the Scottish queen. To add to his demerits, in answer to the questions put to him in prison, he did not imitate the humility of his colleagues, but in defending himself, indirectly charged the queen with falsehood, and alluded in obscure terms to her message to Pawlet.[60] In court, however, he acted

March 12.

and wrote her a most humble and desponding letter. See Strype, iii. 371. App. 144—146.

[60] 1°. In his examination to the question, Did not her majesty give it in commandment to you to keep the warrant secret, and not utter it to any one? he answers, that she gave it to him without any such commandment, which he affirmeth as in the presence of God. 2°. Did she command you to pass it to the great seal?—He answers affirmatively, and mentions such circumstances as he trusts will bring that commandment to her recollection. 3°. Did she not, after it had passed the seal, command you, on your life, not to let it go out of your hand? In answer he protested before God, that he neither remembereth, nor received, any such command. 4°. Did she ever command you to deliver it to any body? As she did not expressly command him to deliver it, so did he never understand her meaning to be other, than to have it proceeded in. 5°. Did she not six or seven days afterwards tell you, she had a better way to proceed therein? He replies, "On the receipt of a letter from "Mr. Pawlet, upon such cause *as she best knoweth*, she uttered such

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with more reserve than prudence. To the invectives of the crown lawyers he replied, that to acknowledge the offence would be to tarnish his own reputation, to contend with his sovereign would be to transgress the duty of a subject: he would only say, that he had acted under the persuasion that he was obeying the queen's commands, and for the rest would throw himself on her mercy. He was condemned in a fine of ten thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned during the royal pleasure. The treasury seized all his property: and the queen, though she lived seventeen years longer, would never restore him to favour. She was deaf to his repeated petitions: even the young earl of Essex, in the zenith of his influence, prayed for Davison in vain.[61] Perhaps she thought by this severity to convince the world, that she did not dissemble: certainly she effected one important object: she closed the mouth of her prisoner, whom the spirit of resentment, or the hope of vindicating his innocence, might have urged to reveal the secret history of the proceedings against Mary, and the unworthy artifices and guilty designs of his sovereign.

Appeases James.

It may appear surprising; but a full month elapsed before the king of Scotland received any certain intelligence of the execution of his

"a speech as that 'she could have matters otherwise done,' the "particulars whereof I leave to her best remembrance." Strype, iii. 375.

[61] Cabala, 229—232. Camden, 540—545.

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March 8.

mother. At the news he burst into tears: he talked of nothing but vengeance: the people shared the resentment of the king; and the estates offered to risk their lives and fortunes in the national quarrel. Robert Carey, son to lord Hunsdon, who arrived with a letter from Elizabeth, would have fallen a victim to the fury of the Scots, had not James sent him a guard for his protection.[62] The queen in her letter assured the young monarch, that the death of Mary was not owing to her: that the ministers who ordered it without her knowledge, should be severely punished: that she would be to him in the place of his mother, whose condemnation should prove no prejudice to his rights and expectations. Elizabeth's partisans in the Scottish court supported her cause. They admonished James to recollect that he was now the next heir to the English crown: let him not forfeit that splendid inheritance by offending a princess, who alone could remove him from it: nor rely on the uncertain friendship of the foreign powers, who, while they pretended to seek his honour, sought in reality nothing but their own interest. His indignation gradually evaporated: the cry of vengeance was subdued by the suggestions of prudence; and the ease with which he acquiesced, provoked a suspicion in some, that if James felt

[62] Carey's memoirs, 13.

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for Mary as his mother, he also rejoiced at her death, as at the removal of a rival.[63]

And the king of France.

The revenge of Henry III. was equally harmless. A sense of honour had compelled him to forewarn Elizabeth, that he should consider the execution of a queen dowager of France as an insult offered to the French crown. But amidst the civil wars in which he was engaged, he was in no condition to execute this menace: nor could he indeed view with dissatisfaction an event, which detracted something from the importance of the man whom he most hated, the duke of Guise. Now that the head of Mary had fallen, it became the object of the two powers to renew their former relations of amity. The chief obstacle arose from the pretended conspiracy to murder the queen, attributed to the French ambassador. Elizabeth was the first to yield. She assured L'Aubespine that she never gave any credit to the report; that she had always thought highly of his honour and integrity; and that his late behaviour had raised him still more in her esteem. After his audience with the queen, he was addressed, in presence of the whole court, by each of the ministers in rotation. Beginning with the earl of Leicester, they assured him of their respect and friendship; of their sorrow for the late charge, of which they acknowledged

May 19.

[63] Camden, 439. 446—450. Courcelles' dispatches, Cotton MSS. Cal. I. ix. 233. Strype, iii. 377. Ellis, ii. 23.

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him to be innocent; and of their desire that all cause of dissension might be buried in oblivion. With this farce (for so the ambassador calls it) ended the quarrel between the two crowns:[64] and the death of Mary was left unrevenged by those whom it chiefly concerned; her son the king of Scotland, and her brother-in-law the king of France.

[64] See a most interesting dispatch from L'Aubespine, in Egerton, 9, 10. After a public apology to the ambassador, Elizabeth took him by the hand, and led him into a corner of the room; where she told him, that since their last interview, the greatest of all calamities had befallen her in the death of the queen of Scots. Of that death she swore, with abundance of oaths, that she was innocent. She had determined never to execute the warrant, except in case of invasion or rebellion. Four of her council—they were then in the room—had played her a trick, which she should never forget. They had grown old in her service, and had acted from the best of motives, or by G--- they should have lost their heads But that which troubled her most, was the displeasure of the king of France, whom she honoured above all men; whose interest she preferred to her own; and whom she was ready to supply with men, money, ships, and German mercenaries, against his enemies. L'Aubespine had previously resolved to make no remark on the death of Mary; but he took occasion of the last words, to express a wish, that the queen would shew her esteem of his master by her deeds. To send men and ammunition to those who were in arms against him, to hire Germans to fight their battles, to capture French ships, and to treat a French ambassador for four months as she had treated him, were not convincing proofs of friendship and esteem. She replied, that she had done nothing against Henry, but had aided the king of Navarre against the duke of Guise. He asked whether to do even that without the consent of Henry, were not to do in a foreign realm, what she would suffer no foreign prince to do in hers? He has not mentioned her answer, but adds that she talked incessantly for three hours. Ibid.

CHAP. V.

MARITIME AND PIRATICAL EXPEDITIONS—HAWKINS—DRAKE—CAVENDISH—DISCONTENT OF THE HOLLANDERS—LOSS OF SLUYS—RETURN OF LEICESTER—HATTON MADE CHANCELLOR—PREPARATIONS OF PHILIP—OF ELIZABETH—THE ARMADA SAILS FROM LISBON—ENTERS THE CHANNEL—IS DISPERSED—AND COMPELLED TO RETURN BY THE NORTH OF SCOTLAND—MAGNANIMITY OF PHILIP—ELIZABETH VISITS THE ARMY AT TILBURY—LEICESTER DIES—HIS CHARACTER.

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Commercial enterprise.

THAT spirit of commercial enterprise, which had been awakened under Mary, seemed to pervade and animate every description of men during the reign of Elizabeth. For the extension of trade, and the discovery of unknown lands, associations were formed, companies were incorporated, expeditions were planned: and the prospect of immense profit, which, though always anticipated, was seldom realized, seduced many to sacrifice their whole fortunes, prevailed even on the ministers, the nobility, and the queen herself, to risk considerable sums, in these hazardous undertakings. The agents of the Russia company laboured to penetrate through Muscovy and Persia, into Cathai: the Turkey merchants purchased and imported the productions of the Levant: English mariners explored, sometimes the coasts of Africa, some-

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times those of America; and repeated attempts were made, in opposite directions, to force a passage to the East Indies, through the icebergs which crown the northern limits of the old and the new continents. The adventurers brought wealth and honour to their country. But among them there were many who, at a distance from home, and freed from the restraint of law, indulged in the most brutal excesses; whose rapacity despised the rights of nations, and the claims of humanity; and whom, while we admire their skill, and hardihood, and perseverance, our more sober judgment must pronounce no better than public robbers and assassins.[1]

The slave trade.

The renowned sir John Hawkins first acquired celebrity by opening the trade in slaves. He made three voyages to the coast of Africa: bartered articles of trifling value for numerous lots of negroes; crossed the Atlantic to Hispa-

1563. niola, and the Spanish settlements in America; and in exchange for his captives returned with large quantities of hides, sugar, ginger, and pearls. This trade was, however, illicit: and in

1567. the bay of St. Juan d'Ulloa, Hawkins was surprised by the arrival of the Spanish viceroy with a fleet of twelve sail from Europe. The hostile squadrons viewed each other with jealousy and distrust; a doubtful truce was terminated

[1] Hakluyt, passim. Stow, 681. 684. 729. Camden, 243. 306. 332. 360. 449. Anderson, i. 420. Harris, i. 524—526. 575—583.

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by a general engagement; and in the end, though the Spaniards suffered severely, Hawkins lost his fleet, his treasure, and the majority of his followers. Out of six ships under his command, two only escaped: and of these one foundered at sea, the other, called the Judith, a bark of fifty tons, commanded by Francis Drake, brought back the remnant of the adventurers to Europe. The reader will perhaps be surprised when he understands, that the two largest vessels out of the six engaged in this inhuman traffic, belonged to the queen.[2]

Piratical expedition of Drake.

In an age of religious fanaticism, it is not unusual to find habits of piety united with the indulgence of the most lawless passions. Drake attributed his late disaster to the perfidy of the viceroy. He thirsted for revenge: a naval chaplain was consulted; and the enlightened casuist determined, that the loss which he had suffered from a Spanish commander, might be justly repaired by the plunder of Spanish subjects in any part of the globe. The conscience of the adventurer was satisfied: he made three predatory voyages to the West Indies; and if the two first were unsuccessful, the last amply indemnified him for his previous disappointments. In the gulf of Mexico he captured more than one hundred small vessels; he took and plundered Nombre de Dios; made an ex-

1572. May 12.

July 28.

[2] Camden, 158.

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pedition by land in the company of the Symerons, or fugitive negroes, and of a band of French adventurers; and intercepted a convoy of mules loaden with gold and silver. This treasure satisfied his rapacity: to secure it, he hastened back to England.[3]

1573. March 29.

He sails round the globe.

During his last expedition, from the summit of a mountain on the isthmus of Darien, Drake had, for the first time, descried the great Pacific ocean: and in a transport of enthusiasm, falling on his knees, he called God to witness, that if life were granted him, he would one day unfurl the English flag on that sea, hitherto unknown to his countrymen. In England he was not unmindful of his vow. Walsingham, Hatton, and some of the other counsellors, applauded and aided his efforts: and Elizabeth herself staked a sum of one thousand crowns on the issue of the expedition. With five ships and one hundred and sixty men he crossed the Atlantic to the coast of Brazil; passed the straits of Magellan, and reached the small port of Santiago on the Spanish main. No resistance had been prepared, where no enemy had hitherto been known. From Santiago to Lima, the towns on the coast, and the vessels in the harbours, were taken and plundered. His last and richest capture was made at sea; the Cacafuego, a Spanish trader of considerable value. But the

1573. Feb. 11.

1577. Nov. 15.

1578. Dec. 5.

1579. March 1.

[3] Camden, 352.

alarm was now raised: a squadron had been stationed at the straits to intercept his return: and Drake took the bold resolution of stretching across the Pacific ocean to the Moluccas. Thence, after many dangers and adventures, doubling the Cape of Good Hope, he returned to Plymouth in safety after an absence of almost three years. His arrival was celebrated as a triumph. He came indeed stained with bloodshed and rapine; but in the estimation of the people these blots were effaced by the glory of the enterprise; and England hailed with joy the return of her adventurous son, the first of mortals who had in one voyage circumnavigated the globe.[4]

1580. Nov. 3.

Is knighted by Elizabeth.

Though Drake had sailed with five ships, he returned with only one, the Golden Hind: but it was laden with treasure to the amount of 800,000*l*. Of this sum, one tenth was distributed among the officers and crew; a portion was given up to the Spanish ambassador, who claimed the whole in the name of his sovereign; and the rest, of which no account was ever received, was believed to have been shared among the queen, the commander, and the royal favourites. Four months, however, elapsed before she would give to Drake any public testimony

[4] The glory of having practically demonstrated the orbicular form of the earth belonged to Majelhaen: but that navigator was prevented from completing his circumnavigation of the globe, by his death in the Philippine isles.

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of her approbation. His ship had been placed in the dock at Deptford, that it might be preserved as a memorial of his daring adventure. Elizabeth condescended to partake of a banquet which he gave in the cabin; and before her departure, conferred on him the honour of knighthood.[5]

1581. April 4.

Commands an expedition to the West Indies.

When Philip complained of these depredations, they were feebly vindicated on the ground of his having secretly aided the queen's enemies, and sought to excite rebellion in her dominions. But if the plea of retaliation is to be admitted at all, we must seek out the original aggressor; and impartiality will compel us to lay the blame on the unjustifiable conduct of the English adventurers. At length, however, Elizabeth, as the ally of Holland, engaged in open war with Philip: the lawless pirate was immediately converted into an officer acting under the royal commission; and the skill and intrepidity of Drake was successfully employed in legitimate hostilities for the service of his sovereign. With a fleet of twenty-one sail he directed his course to the West Indies: burnt the town of St. Jago, plundered those of St. Domingo and Carthagena, and razed two Spanish forts on the coast of Florida.[6]

1585. Sept. 14.

[5] Camden, 354—360. Stow, 687. Harris, i. 19.

[6] In this expedition he lost 700 men by sickness, and brought back to England the survivors of a colony, that sir Walter Raleigh had sent out to Virginia. These colonists on their return, introduced the custom of smoking tobacco. Camd. 449. Harris i. 815.

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At the same time, Thomas Cavendish, a gentleman of Suffolk, who had dissipated one half of his property, sold the remainder, built or purchased three small vessels, and sailed in quest of adventures to the Spanish main. The inhabitants were upon their guard: and for several months his exploits were confined to the capture of a few coasting vessels, and the conflagration of two or three villages. But just before his departure, his good fortune led him into the course of the Santa Anna, a merchantman from the Manillas. The Spaniards repelled every attempt to board: at last the sinking state of their ship compelled them to yield. The gold and silver, and more valuable commodities, were transferred from the prize to the English vessels: the other merchandise, amounting to 500 tons, was consumed with the carack; and the adventurer immediately returned by the Moluccas, Java, and the Cape of Good Hope. Like Drake, he had made the circuit of the globe: but like him he added little to the stock of general knowledge. The object of both was to enrich themselves at the expence of the Spaniards. This they effected: the improvement of science was beyond their abilities, or beneath their notice.[7]

Voyage of Cavendish. 1586. July 21.

1587. Nov. 4.

1588. Sept. 9.

These maritime expeditions might irritate the

[7] Stow, 719. Camden, 552. Harris, i. 24. He afterwards undertook a similar voyage in 1591, and perished at sea.

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Desertion from the English army in Holland.

Spanish monarch: they contributed nothing towards the great object of the war. The subjugation or independence of the Netherlands was to be decided on the spot: and there Philip had little to dread, as long as the conduct of the hostile army was intrusted to the presumption and incapacity of Leicester. On his return to England in November, the earl had resumed his wonted ascendency over the heart of the queen: instead of punishment, he met with reward: and, as if she sought to atone for the pain which she had given, she made him lord steward of her household, and chief justice in eyre south of the Trent. But during his absence, dissension and faction introduced themselves into the army in Holland. If many approved, many also condemned, the execution of the Scottish queen. Elizabeth was branded as the murderess of the rightful heir to the crown: and emissaries were artfully employed to debauch the fidelity of the soldiers. Among the officers was sir Roland York, a soldier of fortune and captain of a fort near Zutphen, who, for some former offence, dreaded the secret resentment of Leicester. This man took the opportunity to insinuate to sir William Stanley, governor of Daventer, that he, as the friend of Babington, and advocate of Mary, was an object of suspicion to the council, and was destined to suffer, at a convenient time, a similar fate. Stanley caught the alarm: he assembled the garrison, and declared that his

1587. June 18.

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conscience forbade him to fight in the cause of rebels against their sovereign; that Daventer belonged to the king of Spain; and that it was the duty of every honest man to restore to the right owner that property which had been unjustly acquired. They applauded his harangue: both Daventer and the fort were surrendered; and Stanley and York, with 1300 men, entered into the service of Philip.[8]

Discontent of the Belgians.

This unexpected event spread terror and consternation throughout Belgium. The states assembled: and, as if the queen's lieutenant were no longer in existence, appointed Maurice, son to the late prince of Orange, stadtholder and captain-general in Holland, Zealand, and Friesland. But they soon found reason to repent of their precipitation. Leicester, by his religious

[8] Camden, 552. In justification of Stanley, a letter was published by Dr. Allen. I have not been able to procure it: but another apology by Persons may be seen in that writer's "Manifestation." He observes that Daventer had been surprised against the will of the inhabitants by Sir William Stanley, who was sworn to keep it for the states, and with the garrison received pay from the states: that both Stanley and Leicester were enemies to sir John Norris, who succeeded to the command on the departure of Leicester; and on this account the latter left with Stanley a written licence to leave the service at any moment he might think proper. Hence Persons contended that Stanley was no deserter, because he had the licence to depart: that he was no traitor to Elizabeth, because he was in the pay of the states, and held the town for them: and that he was guilty of no injustice, because the town was the property of the king of Spain, and, as he had been instrumental in taking it from the right owner, he was bound in conscience to restore it to him. Persons, Manifestation, p. 43—46.

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cant, and his affectation of sanctity, had, during his residence in the Netherlands, formed a strong party among the reformed clergy. He frequented their sermons; he prayed and fasted in their company; he frequently received the sacrament; and on every occasion avowed a determination to extirpate popery, and to establish the gospel. They spread the shield of their influence over their absent disciple; and from their pulpits inveighed with bitterness against the ingratitude and the injustice of the states. Many towns disowned the authority of Maurice: the clergy of Friesland proclaimed Elizabeth their sovereign: and the synod of Sneck, in an address to the English ambassador, conjured the queen to hasten to the assistance of Christ, who put himself and his children under her protection. Elizabeth felt the affront offered to her favourite as offered to herself; and the lord Buckhurst was dispatched to signify her displeasure. By his exertions harmony was restored. The appointment of the new stadtholder was declared to have been only provisional: Maurice expressed his readiness to resign the office whenever it should be required; and the fury of the people was appeased by a promise that Leicester should immediately return.[9]

March 1.

The English queen, however, had a more im-

[9] Brandt, 409. Bentivoglio, ii. 99. Cabala, part ii. l. 63.

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portant object in view. She had rashly, though reluctantly, plunged into the contest with Philip; she now sought to extricate herself from it with honour. Two foreign merchants, Grafigna, a Genoese in London, and De Loo, a Flamand in Antwerp, had been employed as representatives of the commercial interests in the two countries, to solicit, the one from Elizabeth, the other from Farnese, the restoration of peace. Both received favourable answers: through them a correspondence was opened between Burleigh and sir James Croft, on the part of England, and Perenotte and Richardot on that of Spain; and complimentary letters, expressive of the most pacific sentiments, were interchanged between Elizabeth and the duke.[10] In the council the lord treasurer supported the views of his sovereign: but Leicester and his friends urged the continuation of the war. They foretold that, while the queen was deluded with a pretended negociation, the Spanish squadrons would slip from their ports, unite in one numerous armament, and pour a foreign army on the English shores; and they wrought so powerfully on the fears and feelings of Elizabeth, that Drake was dispatched from Plymouth to watch the harbours of Spain, and to oppose, if it were attempted, the junction of the Spanish fleet. But that officer had no intention to confine himself to the letter of his in-

Drake's expedition to Cadiz.

Jan. 29.

Feb. 17.

April 2.

[10] See their contents in Strada, l. ix. anno 1587.

CHAP. V.

April 19.

structions. He hastened to Cadiz, bore fearlessly into the harbour, dispersed by his superior fire the Spanish gallies, and sunk, or burnt, or captured, or destroyed, no fewer than eighty sail, partly ships of war, partly merchantmen, either recently arrived from the East, or equipped to proceed to the West Indies. From Cadiz, the conquerors returned by the coast of Portugal: in the waters of the Tagus they insulted the marquess of Santa Crux, the admiral of Spain: and at sea their labours were rewarded by the capture of the St. Philip, a carack of the largest dimensions, and laden with much valuable merchandize.[11]

Loss of Sluys.

The victorious admiral was received with gratitude by all but his sovereign. Elizabeth trembled, lest so great a loss should awaken in the breast of Philip the desire of revenge, rather than of peace: and in answer to a letter from Farnese, who had offered to appoint negociators, and left the place of meeting to the choice of the queen, she assured him that Drake had been sent out for the sole purpose of opposing any attempt at invasion; that orders had been forwarded to him to abstain from every act of hostility; and that, as he had disobeyed her commands, he should suffer for his presumption on his return. Farnese affected to be satisfied, but prepared to play a similar game. To Eliza-

[11] Drake's letter is in Strype, iii. 451. Stow, 709.

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beth he replied, that he could believe any thing of a man who had been bred a pirate, and who at Cadiz had acted in the usual line of his profession; that he was still willing to abide by his former offer; and that it depended on the queen alone to put an end to the horrors of war.[12] But, while she was thus amused by his proposals, while she feared that a second act of hostility might extinguish every hope of pacification, the duke silently arranged his plans, and gave instructions to his officers. On a sudden, Sluys, a fort of the first consequence, garrisoned partly by Englishmen and partly by Hollanders, was besieged: and the number and discipline of the enemy, the abilities and good fortune of their leader, taught the states to tremble for its safety. They made the most pressing instances to the queen: her favourite assailed her with arguments and entreaties: still she hesitated; she wrote to Farnese to withdraw his forces; nor was it till she had received a refusal, that she gave her consent to the departure of Leicester. He took with him a large sum of money, and a reinforcement of 5000 men: but he was hampered with instructions, which he could not, or would not, understand: he was ordered to sound, in the first instance, the disposition of the Hollanders; and, if he found them averse from peace, to declare that the queen would

May 19.

May 29.

June 23

[12] Strada, l. ix. anno 1588.

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retire from the contest, unless they could advance 100,000l. for the payment of a more numerous army. The earl arrived, assembled his forces, and made three unsuccessful attempts to raise the siege. Sluys capitulated; and the royal message was delivered. The states received it with reproaches and complaints; and, in the transport of their indignation, indulged in the most unjust and alarming suspicions. They had been, they said, betrayed by placing confidence in the professions of their allies. Avarice had induced their pretended friend, the queen of England, to sell them to the king of Spain, and to stipulate the surrender of the places garrisoned by her troops, in return for a sum of money sufficient to defray the past expenses of the war. These charges, though unfounded and improbable, were circulated and believed: and the earl, from having been the idol, became in a few days the execration, of the people.

July 30.

Disputes between Leicester and the Hollanders.

From the conflicting assertions of Leicester and his opponents, it is difficult to form a correct notion of his proceedings. *They* charged him with aspiring to the sovereignty of the provinces: they asserted, that with this view he had sought to place English governors in every fortress; had attempted to seize the persons of Barnevelt, his chief adversary, and of prince Maurice, his most formidable rival; and had arranged a plot to seize for himself the city of Leyden, which was preserved to the states only

by the timidity and flight of the conspirators.[13] Leicester, on the contrary, complained bitterly of the ingratitude of the Hollanders; accused the most ardent among the patriots of corruption and treason; and pretended that a secret design existed of betraying the Netherlands into the hands of Philip. However these things may be, his influence with Elizabeth was gone. She believed that he had neglected her instructions, and sought chiefly his own aggrandizement; and when Farnese complained that the queen had no real desire of peace, she laid the blame, first on the negligence, and then on the ambition of Leicester. He was recalled: and Nov. 21. on his arrival, aware of his danger, threw himself at her feet, and conjured her to have pity on her former favourite. "She had sent him to "the Netherlands with honour; would she re- "ceive him back in disgrace? She had raised "him from the dust; would she now bury him "alive?" Elizabeth relented: but the result of the interview was not revealed till the following morning. The earl had received a summons to answer before the council. He obeyed: but, instead of kneeling at the foot of the table, took his accustomed seat; and when the secretary began to read the charges which had been prepared, he arose, inveighed against the baseness and perfidy of his calumniators, and appealed

[13] Camden, 555. Brandt, 414.

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from the prejudices of his equals to the equity of his sovereign. The members gazed on each other: the secretary passed to the ordinary business of the day; and the lord Buckhurst, the accuser, was ordered to consider himself a prisoner in his own house. Such a punishment was evidently unjust. But he submitted without a murmur: and so rigorously did he observe the royal order, that, although his confinement lasted till the death of Leicester, he never admitted, during nine months, either his wife or children into his company![14]

Hatton is made chancellor.

About the same time, the death of Bromley, lord chancellor, enabled the queen to satisfy the ambition of another of her favourites. Since the reformation, that high office had been confined to the lawyers: she now resolved to break through the custom, and to bestow it on the earl of Rutland. But Rutland died within a few days, and to the surprise and ridicule of the courtiers, sir Christopher Hatton was appointed chancellor. It had happened, some years before, that the students in the inns of court gave a magnificent ball in honour of the queen. Among the maskers her eye distinguished one, who in stature, agility and manner, excelled all his

[14] Besides the historians of the period, consult the original letters in the Hardwicke papers, i. 334—360. It would appear that Leicester had much to say in his own defence, but that the party which sought peace, had obtained the ascendency while the earl was absent in Holland, and Walsingham was confined to his house by sickness.

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companions. The fortunate dancer was Hatton, a young gentleman of slender fortune from Northamptonshire. She bade him reside at court, appointed him the captain of her guard, then chamberlain, and at length lord chancellor. The lawyers were mortified: they objected to plead before him: but Hatton, combining moderation with firmness, subdued their opposition; and with the aid of two serjeants, whom he consulted on points of law, proved himself, as a judge in equity, not inferior to his predecessors. He was considered the most accomplished gentleman in the court; and made himself many friends by opposing the harsh and irritating measures, which were often suggested by his colleagues in the council.[15]

Philip prepares to invade England.

We are now arrived at the most interesting and memorable epoch in the reign of Elizabeth. The reader must have noticed the injuries, which the queen had almost annually offered to the king of Spain. She had intercepted his treasure, had given aid to his rebels, had hired foreign mercenaries to fight against his armies, and had suffered her mariners to plunder and massacre his defenceless subjects on the high seas, and in his American dominions. Policy taught him to dissemble: he covered his feelings with an affectation of disdain: and the monarch,

[15] Philopater, 20. Camden, 558. Splendidissime omnium quos novimus, gessit. Ibid.

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so haughty to every other power, appeared to bear the provocations given by Elizabeth with the most stoical indifference. But the constant repetition of insult, the sophisms with which his complaints had formerly been answered, and the recollection that the queen, under the reign of her sister, had owed her liberty, perhaps her life to his protection, sharpened the edge of his resentment:[16] and, if he hesitated to strike, it was only that he might take more sure and ample vengeance. In 1583, after a forbearance of fifteen years, he flattered himself that the day of retribution was come. The duke of Anjou had been driven out of the Netherlands: France trembled on the verge of a civil war; and the defeat of his rival don Antonio, with the reduction of Tercera, had secured on his head the crown of Portugal. Freed from other foes, he turned his attention to the English queen: but he was by nature slow and cautious: to arrange his plans, to make his preparations, demanded leisure and consideration; and five more years were suffered to elapse, before the armada, destined to subjugate the English nation, was ready to sail from the ports of Spain. During this interval the conduct of Elizabeth had not been calculated to avert his resentment. She had sent to the relief of the Belgian insurgents an English army under a general, who assumed

[16] See Philopat. Augustæ, 1592, p. 68—83. Osborn's memoirs, 13.

the title and authority of governor of the revolted provinces; and after a trial, unprecedented in the annals of Europe, she had taken, on a scaffold, the life of the queen of Scots. The first was equivalent to a declaration of war, which Philip could not refuse to notice without the imputation of cowardice: the second was an insult to the majesty of sovereigns, which, as the most powerful of christian monarchs, he deemed it his duty to revenge.

His negociation with the pope.

Of all men, the Spanish king should have been the last to acknowledge in the pontiff the right of disposing of the crowns of princes. In former times he had not hesitated to declare war against Paul IV.; and by his general, the duke of Alva, had dictated the terms of peace, in the Vatican. Revenge and ambition taught him a different lesson. In confidence he communicated his object to Sixtus V. the reigning pope, and solicited his co-operation in an attempt which had for one of its objects the restoration of the papal authority in England. For this purpose he demanded an aid in money, the renewal of the censures promulgated against Elizabeth by former popes, and a grant of the purple for Dr. Allen, who, in the event of success, might proceed as legate to England, regulate the concerns of religion as had been done by cardinal Pole, and confer on the conqueror the investiture of the kingdom.[17] Allen, ignorant of the project,

[17] The dispatch is among the records at Simancas.

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was at the Spa, for the benefit of his health: under some other pretext, he was drawn to Rome; and, though he declined the dignity, as he had before declined it under Gregory XIII., he was, against his will, created a cardinal by the title of St. Martin in montibus. But though Sixtus kept the secret locked up within his own breast, the motive of Allen's promotion was suspected by the politicians at the papal court; and the pontiff, apprehensive of the discovery, exhorted Philip to hasten the expedition, offering him a subsidy of a million of crowns, to be paid as soon as the invading army had landed on the coast of England.[18]

1587. Aug. 7. N. S.

Nov. 1.

His army and navy.

The preparations of that monarch both in Spain and the Netherlands were proportionate to the importance of the undertaking. Never had the ocean borne a more gallant fleet than that which now rode in the harbours of Spain. One hundred and thirty-five sail of men of war, carrying eight thousand seamen, and nineteen thousand soldiers, obeyed the command of the marquess of Santa Crux, an officer, who had grown grey in the naval service, and whose brow was shaded with the laurels of numerous victories.[19] In Flanders, the forest of Waes had

[18] Fitzherbert, Vita Alani, 87. Strada l. ix. anno 1588. Maffei, Hist. ab excessu Gregor. XIII. p. 25.

[19] The vessels composing this fleet were of four kinds: 1°. the ordinary ship of war, formed after the chiule or keel of the ancient northern nations: 2°. the galley, which employed the aid of oars, and carried cannon on the prow and the stern, 3°. the galeasse, one-third larger and broader than the galley, with the addition of cannon

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been felled: the dockyards of Antwerp, Newport, Gravelines, and Dunkirk, swarmed with artificers; and the rivers and canals were covered with flat-bottomed boats, destined to serve as transports in the projected invasion. The reputation of Farnese, and the danger but glory of the attempt, had drawn volunteers from many of the most noble families in Europe: on every road were met bodies of soldiers hastening from Spain, and Germany, and Italy, to the place of rendezvous; and when the duke of Parma had mustered his forces, and allotted to the count Mansfeldt eleven thousand men in addition to the ordinary garrisons for the defence of the country, he had still at his disposal thirty thousand infantry, and eighteen hundred cavalry, to be employed in the invasion of England.[20]

Preparations of Elizabeth.

It was impossible that these preparations could escape the notice of the English government: but Philip circulated different reports to cover their real destination. Elizabeth was plunged in the most cruel uncertainty, where the storm would ultimately burst, whether on *her* head, or on the insurgents of Belgium. It was necessary that she should be on her guard: but parsimony inclined her to distrust both the

on each side, between every bench of oars: 4°. the galleon, or large chiule, being the ordinary ship of war extended in length, with cannon on each flank, and powerful batteries on the prow and stern. See Strada, l. ix. anno 1558.

[20] Strada, ibid. Hardwicke papers, i. 354. Camden, 563.

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Her army.

advice of her ministers, and the warnings of their spies; and she alternately quickened or retarded her preparations, as hope or fear preponderated in her mind. She easily consented that a military council for the defence of the kingdom should be established; that all the male population from the age of eighteen to that of sixty, should be enrolled; and that the lords lieutenants should be instructed to form companies of militia, to appoint officers, and to provide arms at the expense of the counties. But to call these men into active service, would entail a great expense on the crown. She still cherished a hope of avoiding the contest: and, if at last two armies were ordered to assemble, one of thirty-six thousand men, under lord Hunsdon, for the defence of the royal person, and another of thirty thousand, under the earl of Leicester, for the protection of the capital, these measures were so long delayed, that the first existed nowhere but upon paper; the second never reached to more than one half of the specified number.[21] It was, however, of small mo-

[21] The orders for the army under Leicester were issued in June. In what manner it was to be composed, may be seen in Murdin, 611. It was to consist of 27,000 infantry, 407 lancers, 2011 light horse, and eighteen pieces of artillery. Yet on the tenth of August it did not exceed 15,000 foot, with their complement of horse. Stow, 743. Now, if the armada had not been dispersed by the fire-ships and the storm, the attempt to land would have been made on the 30th or 31st of July. As for lord Hunsdon's army, none except the men from London and Middlesex, received orders to assemble

ment. Such raw and hasty levies could have opposed but a feeble resistance to the numerous and disciplined force under the duke of Parma.[22] England was destined to be saved by the skill and intrepidity of her navy.

Her navy.

In the last autumn, a sense of danger had extorted from the queen a warrant for the levy of five thousand seamen: in January she repented of her prodigality, and ordered two thousand to be dismissed. As, however, the rumour of invasion assumed a more authenticated shape, she yielded to the entreaties of her council: the original number was again filled up; it was even raised to seven thousand men.[23] The royal navy consisted of thirty-four men of war, of which five measured from eight to eleven hundred tons: the city of London furnished thirty-three, and different gentlemen eighteen sail, and to these, in such an emergency, were added forty-three hired ships, and fifty three coasters. The chief command was assumed in virtue of his office, by lord Howard of Effingham, admiral of England, whose resolution and intrepi-

before the 6th of August. Murdin, 612, 613. Of this Leicester complained, on July 27th. God had given the queen forces and power: yet she would not use them when she ought. Hardwicke papers, i. 576.

[22] See in a note in the Hardwicke papers, i. 575, the opinion which sir John Smyth, an old soldier, who was employed to train the new levies, had formed of this army. He wrote a work on military discipline, which, on account of some such passages, was suppressed. Strype, iv. 47.

[23] The treasurer's accounts, in Murdin, 620.

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dity were universally acknowledged, and whose want of naval experience was supplied by a council of able seamen. Under him served as volunteers, the earl of Cumberland, and the lords Henry Seymour, Thomas Howard, and Edmund Sheffield: Drake was appointed lieutenant of the fleet: and the best ships were given to Hawkins, Forbisher, and other mariners, who in voyages of commerce, or piracy, or discovery, had acquired experience, and displayed that contempt of danger, and that spirit of enterprise, which have long been characteristic of the British sailor.[24]

Hesitation of the king of Scotland.

The only neighbouring powers to whom the queen could apply for assistance, were the states of Belgium, and the king of Scots. The independence of the former was owing to her protection: their ruin must be the inevitable consequence of her subjugation. Interest and gratitude taught them to obey the call. They forgot all recent causes of offence, undertook to shut up the navigation of the Scheld, and sent to the fleet a squadron of twenty sail. From the king of Scotland she dared not hope for active assistance: but to secure his neutrality was an object of immense importance. James appeared to waver: a Spanish party had been formed among his subjects: the addition of a Spanish army and of Spanish treasure, would have aroused him from his inactivity, and have made him the avenger

[24] See the statement of the fleet in Murdin, 615—618.

of the blood of his mother. Such a measure was urged in the council of Philip :[25] but he distrusted the fidelity of the Scottish king, whose policy it was not to commit himself with either party, till he should see the probable event of the contest. If, to please his protestant subjects, he subscribed the covenant, and put down the attempt of the lord Maxwell on the borders; yet, at the same time, he listened with coldness to the apology offered by lord Hunsdon for the death of Mary; put forth his own claims with a tone of authority; and held the English cabinet in suspense, till he had extorted the most magnificent promises from Ashby, the resident ambassador. Then, indeed, he forbade his subjects to aid the enemy, and offered to Elizabeth the whole force of his kingdom: but it should be observed, that the armada had been already defeated, and that the Spaniards were fleeing before their pursuers along the shores of Scotland.[26]

Aug. 4.

[25] This advice was given by Plato, a celebrated engineer; and Leicester informs us, "that James had instruments about him, "labouring to have men sent him." Murdin, 592. Again he observes: "Scotland is altogether neglected, from which all our "mischief is to come, where the employment of 2000 men by the "enemy, with some portion of treasure, may more annoy us than "30,000 landed in this realm." Hardwicke papers, i. 360.

[26] That James remained in suspense to the last, is evident from the dates. In the autumn lord Hunsdon wrote to the queen, "that if she looked for any amity or kindness at his hands, she "would find herself deceived." Murdin, 591. In April, Hunsdon received instructions to satisfy him for his mother's death: in June,

CHAP. V.

Conduct of the catholics.

But there was within the realm a class of men, whose doubtful loyalty created more alarm in the cabinet than the procrastination of the Scottish, or the enmity of the Spanish monarch. The real number of the English catholics was unknown: (for the severity of the penal laws had taught many to conceal their religion:) but it was loosely conjectured, that they amounted to at least one half of the population of the kingdom.[27] Hitherto they had been the victims of a relentless persecution: was there not reason to expect that they would receive the Spaniards as deliverers: The queen had been deprived of all right to the throne by the head of their church: would they not avail themselves of that sentence to wrest from her hands the sceptre of iron with which she had ruled them? Impressed with these fears, several of the ministers began to look on the massacre of St. Bartholomew as a useful precedent: and had it not been for the humanity of the queen herself, the chief of the catholics, those most distinguished by birth and

Mr. Ashby was sent to him; in July, sir Robert Sydney went on a similar mission. Cecil's Diary. Murdin, 787, 788. They did not succeed. For on the 27th of July, Walsingham wrote to Douglas, the Scottish envoy, to give the same advice to his master. At last, on the 4th of August, James accepted the proposal of Ashby: that he should join the queen, and receive in return a dukedom, with lands, an annuity of 5000*l.* and entertainment for a guard of 150 men. Ibid. 788. Rymer, xvi. 18.

[27] Dr. Allen was positive that they amounted to two thirds. Apud Bridgewater, 374. The same was asserted in a paper found upon Creighton. Strype, iii. 415.

property, would have been immolated to the jealousy of their adversaries. The expedient of a counterfeit plot was suggested: but Elizabeth rejected the barbarous advice; and, as no trace of any disloyal project could be discovered, refused to dip her hands in innocent blood.[28] Still the loyalty of the catholics was subjected to the severest trials. Under the plea of precaution all recusants convict were placed in custody: a return "of persons, suspected for religion," was required from the magistrates of the capital:[29] in several counties, perhaps in all, domiciliary searches were made: crowds of catholics of both sexes, and of every rank, were dragged to the common jails throughout the kingdom:[30] and the clergy from their pulpits declaimed with vehemence against the tyranny of the pope and the treachery of the papists. But no provocation could urge them to any act of imprudence. They displayed no less patriotism than their more favoured countrymen. The peers armed their tenants and dependants in the service of the queen: some of the gentlemen equipped vessels and gave the command to protestants; and many solicited permission to fight in the ranks as privates against the common enemy.[31]

[28] Ad securitatem capita pontificiorum, quæsitis causis, demetenda. Illa autem hoc ut crudele consilium aversata. Camden, 566.

[29] They amounted to 17,083. Murdin, 605.

[30] The reader may form some notion of the manner in which such searches were made, from the papers in Lodge, ii. 371—376.

[31] Stow, 746. Harleian Miscel. ii. 64. "Not one man appeared

CHAP. V.

Conferences respecting peace.

The reader will be surprised to learn that, in the midst of these preparations and alarms, both Elizabeth and Philip were employed, and that too with apparent earnestness, in negociating a peace. The queen still clung to the hope of extricating herself from the danger of invasion. It was in vain that Leicester and Walsingham represented the attempt as calculated to paralyze the efforts of her subjects, and to give courage to her enemies:[32] supported by the opinion of Burleigh, she named as commissioners, the earl of Derby, lord Cobham, sir James Croft, and Dale and Rogers, doctors of civil law. They landed at Ostend in the month of January; and after some preliminary forms,

"to favour the Spaniard: the very papists themselves being no lesse "unwilling than the rest to see their native country in subjection to "the ordinary cruelty found in strangers." Osborn, 28. The ministers themselves, in the account which they published in almost all the European languages, under the title of "A letter to Mendoza," remark that no difference could be observed, on this occasion, between the protestants and the catholics; mention with particular praise the viscount Montague, who, with his son and grandson presented himself before the queen at the head of 200 horse, that he had raised for the defence of her person; and inform us that the prisoners for religion in Ely, signed a declaration of their readiness to fight till death in her cause against all her enemies, were they kings, or priests, or pope, or any other potentate whatsoever. Ibid. 15. 17. 46.

[32] Walsingham was "very unquiet in mind about the peace." Lodge, ii. 355, 356. He declared that "all men of judgment must "see that the negociation would work the queen's ruin." Hardwicke papers, i. 357—359. From him we learn that Stafford, the ambassador in France, was in disgrace, because he had sent word that Philip did not deal sincerely in the negociation: "so much," he adds, "do we mislike any thing that may hinder the treaty." Ibid.

met at Bourbourg near Calais, the Spanish commissioners, the count of Aremberg, Perenotte, Richardot, De Mas and Garnier. The English opened the conferences with the demand of an armistice : it was granted by the Spaniards, but only for the four cautionary towns possessed by the queen in the Netherlands. They then brought forward three propositions : that the ancient league between England and the house of Burgundy should be renewed ; that Philip should withdraw his foreign troops from the Low Countries, and that freedom of worship should be allowed to all the inhabitants for the space of at least two years. It was replied, that to the renewal of the league the king of Spain could have no objection ; but that it would be imprudent in him to withdraw his forces, as long as England and France continued in arms ; and that the queen could not be serious in soliciting liberty of conscience for the protestants of Belgium, as long as she refused it to the catholics of England. The Spanish commissioners then demanded the restoration of the towns, mortgaged to Elizabeth by the states : their opponents required, in return, the repayment of the money which she had advanced. Neither would yield : expedients were suggested and refused ; and the conferences continued till the armada had arrived in the mouth of the channel. It was the general opinion that each party negociated for the sole purpose of over-reaching the

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other: but if we may believe the private letters of the ministers, Elizabeth anxiously sought the restoration of peace.[33]

The Armada sails from the Tagus.

During five years, procrastination had marked the counsels of Philip: on a sudden his caution was exchanged for temerity. The marquess of Santa Crux had objected the danger of navigating a narrow and tempestuous sea without the possession of a single harbour capable of sheltering the fleet: the duke of Parma had solicited permission to reduce the port of Flushing previously to the departure of the expedition; and sir William Stanley had advised the occupation of Ireland, as a measure necessary to secure the conquest of England. But the king would admit of no delay. He had understood from the pontiff that, on his part, every thing was ready; that the money had been collected, the bull of deposition signed, and the appointment of the legate made out; but that he was resolved not to commit himself by any public act, till he should be assured that the Spanish forces had obtained a footing in England.[34] Philip immediately issued the most

[33] For the particulars of the negociation, compare Camden, (561. 571) with Strada (l. ix. anno 1587); who contradict each other on one point, the powers of the Spanish commissioners.

[34] Several writers, among others Spondanus, iii. 29, assert that Allen repaired to Flanders, to accompany the army to England. It is, however, certain that he remained in Rome. Alanum noluit Roma dimittere pontifex, priusquam de belli successu constaret. Epist. ad Pernium, 110. Olivares never ceased to solicit the bull

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peremptory orders to the admiral, that he should put to sea, without further delay; to Farnese, that he should hold the army in readiness to embark on the first appearance of the fleet near the coast of Flanders. But Santa Crux was already dead, the victim of his anxiety to satisfy the impatience of his sovereign: and his place was inadequately supplied by the duke of Medina Sidonia, who, like the lord admiral of England, was totally unacquainted with the naval service. Under this new leader, the armada sailed from the Tagus. The grandeur of the spectacle excited the most flattering anticipations; and every breast beat high with the hope of conquest and glory. In two days the delusion was dispelled. Off Cape Finisterre the southerly breeze was exchanged for a storm from the west: the armada was dispersed along the shores of Gallicia: three gallies ran aground

May 19.

till he had obtained it: solicetato instancabilmente dall' Olivares. Tempesti, Vita e Geste de Sixto Quinto, ii. 80: where may be seen the speech of the pontiff, when he proposed it to the cardinals. The papal diploma was translated into English, and printed in the Low Countries, that it might be published on the arrival of the Spanish army. Its contents may be seen in Spondanus, iii. 29. Foulis, 350, and Mr. Butler's Memoirs, iii. 210. In addition was composed and printed at Antwerp, under the title of "An admonition to the Nobility and People of England and "Ireland," a libellous tract, detailing all the crimes which her enemies imputed to the queen, and calling upon the reader to unite with the Spaniards in punishing so infamous a character. To it, Allen was induced to put his signature. See an account of it in note (BB).

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on the coast of France, eight were dismasted, and no ship escaped without considerable damage. To collect and repair his shattered fleet, detained the duke three weeks in the harbour of Corunna.

It enters the channel.

This disaster had been announced to Elizabeth as the destruction of the armada, the end of the expedition. If she received the intelligence with joy, she did not forget her usual economy: and the lord admiral received an order to dismantle immediately the four largest ships in the royal navy.[35] Fortunately he ventured to disobey, offering to bear the expense out of his private fortune; and directed his

July 8. course across the bay of Biscay, to ascertain the real state of the Spanish fleet. But a brisk

July 12. gale from the south-west compelled him to return: the enemy took advantage of the same wind to leave Corunna: and the English had scarcely moored their ships in the harbour of Plymouth, when the duke of Medina was dis-

July 19. covered off the Lizard point. Here he summoned the more experienced among his captains to a council of war. They unanimously advised a bold but decisive measure, to bear down on the English fleet, and to attack it while it lay at

[35] These were the Triumph of 1100 tons, carrying 340 sailors, 120 soldiers, and 40 gunners, the White-bear, the Elizabeth Jonas, and the Victory, of 1000, 900, and 800 tons, with a complement of 260 sailors, 100 soldiers, and 40 gunners to each. Murdin, 615, 619. 621.

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anchor: but the admiral produced his instructions, which strictly forbade him to provoke hostilities till he had seen the army of Flanders safely landed on the English shore.[36] They obeyed with reluctance: the armada formed in the shape of a crescent, the horns of which lay some miles asunder, and with a gentle breeze from the south-west, proudly advanced up the channel. It was a magnificent and imposing spectacle. The magnitude of the ships, the unusual construction of the galeasses, their lofty prows and turrets, and their slow and majestic motion, struck the beholders with admiration and awe. The lord admiral had already formed his plan. His vessels, though inferior in bulk and weight of metal, excelled those of the enemy in agility and expedition. To oppose might be dangerous: but he could follow, could annoy from a distance, and might retard their progress, by attacking the more sluggish sailors, and cutting off the stragglers. Two hours did not elapse before he exchanged a brisk cannonade with Ricaldez, the commander of the rear division, and compelled the duke to detach several ships to his support. July 20. July 21.

In this action neither fleet suffered any considerable loss: but during the night one of the largest galleons was set on fire by the resentment of a Flemish gunner, who had been re- Several actions between the fleets.

[36] Strada, l. x. anno 1588. Strype, iv. 280.

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proached by his captain with cowardice or treachery: a second, which had lost a mast by accident, fell astern and was captured, after a sharp engagement; and a third, which had separated from the fleet in the dark, met with a similar fate near the coast of France. These disasters proved lessons of caution to the Spanish admiral. His progress became more slow and laborious: the enemy was daring, and the weather capricious; some of his ships were disabled by successive engagements; others were occasionally entangled among the shoals of an unknown coast; and the necessity of protecting both from the incessant pursuit of the English, so retarded his course, that six days elapsed before he could reach his destination, and cast anchor in the vicinity of Calais.

July 22.

June 27.

The armada dispersed by fire-ships.

By this time the Spaniards had learned to respect the courage and power of their enemy: to the English the advantages which they had won, though trifling in themselves, imparted that tone of confidence which is often the forerunner of victory. Still the great measure on which depended the fate of England, the transportation of the invading army, remained in suspense. The duke of Parma had completed his preparations; and with the aid of canals cut through the country, had conveyed his transports to Newport and Dunkirk. In the first of these harbours, a division of 14,000 men had already embarked; in Dunkirk, the other di-

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vision, almost equal in number, awaited only the orders of the general;[37] and it was expected that on the next day, the second after the arrival of the duke of Medina, the grand attempt would be made. That very night (it was cloudy and boisterous) the sea on a sudden was illuminated by the appearance of eight vessels in flames, drifting rapidly in the direction of the armada. A loud cry of horror burst from the Spaniards, who remembered the blazing boats at the siege of Antwerp, and the destruction which these engines of explosion had scattered on every side. Immediately they cut their cables, ran out to sea, and in their terror and confusion, inflicted on each other much greater damage than they had suffered in some of the preceding actions. The fire-ships burnt away harmlessly on the edge of the beach; but at the moment when the duke congratulated himself on his fortunate escape, a fierce gale began to blow from the south-west; the rain fell in torrents; the glare of the lightning confounded the mariners; and the dawn of morning discovered the armada dispersed along the coast from Ostend to Calais. In a short time, a cannonade in the direction of Gravelines collected the adverse fleets. The Spaniards, with forty sail, bravely sustained the attack of their enemy during the

July 29.

Suffers considerable loss. July 30.

[37] Camden represents him as unprepared (577): the contrary is evident from his dispatches to Philip, quoted by Strada, l. x. anno 1588.

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day: in the evening, the increasing violence of the wind carried them among the shallows and sand banks near the mouths of the Scheld.

July 31. The following morning, with the aid of a favourable breeze, they extricated themselves from danger: but they had lost two galleons, of which one was sunk, the other taken by the Hollanders, and a galeasse of Naples, which had run aground under the batteries of Calais.[38]

Returns to Spain by the north of Scotland.

The Spanish admiral took the opportunity to consult the most experienced among his officers. His fleet was now reduced to fewer than a hundred and twenty sail, all of which had suffered considerably: to attempt the transportation of the army, or to return through the channel, was to throw themselves into the jaws of destruction: and all agreed that but one way remained open, round the north of Scotland and Ireland; a way indeed replete with danger and terror to men unacquainted with the coast, and unused to the tempestuous seas of so high a latitude; but which offered some hope of preserving for their sovereign the shattered remnant of his once formidable navy. For the first time the Spaniards fairly fled before their pursuers: and the want of ammunition compelled the English to return to port, at a time when they might otherwise

[38] With the narratives of our national histories should be compared, that by Strada, who had the advantage of consulting the papers of the duke of Parma. See Camden, 571—579. Stow, 746—759. Strype, iii. App. 266. Strada, l. ix. anno 1588.

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have annihilated the invaders. The fugitives in their northern course met with no enemy; but they had to contend against the violence of the winds and waves; the shores of Scotland and Ireland were covered with the wrecks of their vessels; and, when the duke of Medina terminated his unfortunate voyage in the port of St. Andero, he acknowledged the loss of thirty ships of the largest class, and of ten thousand men.[39] Christoval de Mora, after some contest with his colleagues, undertook to announce the disastrous intelligence to the king. Philip heard him without any change of countenance, any symptom of emotion. "I thank God," he coolly replied, "who has given me so many re- "sources, that I can bear without inconvenience "so heavy a loss. One branch has been lopt "off: but the tree is still flourishing, and able "to supply its place." Immediately he sent the sum of fifty thousand crowns to be distributed among the survivors: forbade by proclamation any public mourning; and openly returned thanks to God that his fleet had not been entirely destroyed. The Spaniards consoled themselves by attributing their loss to the violence of the weather: the duke of Parma was assured in the strongest terms of the royal favour and ap-

Aug. 22.

Sept.

[39] According to the lists in the letter to Mendoza, there perished, or were taken, before the English fleet returned from the pursuit, fifteen sail, carrying 4791 men; and afterwards on the coast of Ireland seventeen sail, with 5394 men. Strype, iii. App. 223.

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probation; and a fruitless attempt by the English ministers to debauch his fidelity, served only to raise him higher in the estimation of the monarch.[40]

The queen visits the army at Tilbury.

During this important crisis, the queen displayed the characteristic courage of the Tudors. She appeared confident of success; she even talked of meeting the invaders, and of animating her troops to battle by her presence. But this proposal was disapproved by the prudence, or the affection of Leicester. "As for your per-

July 27. "son," he wrote to her, "being the most dainty "and sacred thing we have in this world to care "for, I cannot, most dear queen, consent that "you should expose it to danger. For upon your "well doing consists all the safety of your whole

[40] It was first reported, that Philip was displeased with the negligence, and jealous of the ambition, of the duke: Then that in one of the captured vessels had been found an order to the duke of Medina, to arrest Farnese, as soon as he should come on shipboard, and to send him a prisoner to Spain. This second rumour was traced to the family of the English ambassador in Paris. By the time it could reach the duke in Flanders, Fiesque, a Genoese merchant, presented him a letter without signature, and, being questioned who was the writer, replied, Pallavicini, the queen's banker in London. This letter advised Farnese to beware of the resentment and suspicion of Philip: to send a confidential friend to Boulogne, where he would be met by an agent from England; and to recollect that he might acquire much more in Flanders, than he could ever expect to receive from the gratitude of Spain. The duke understood the hint: that the queen wished him to take possession for himself of the catholic provinces, and leave the protestant provinces to the house of Orange. But his fidelity was proof against temptation; he imprisoned the agent, and sent a copy of the letter to Philip. Strada, l. x. anno 1588.

" kingdom: and therefore preserve *that* above all. CHAP. V.
" Yet will I not, that in some sort so princely
" and rare a magnanimity should not appear to
" your people and to the world, as it is. And thus
" far, if it please your majesty, you may do: to
" draw yourself to your house at Havering: and
" to comfort this army and the people of these
" counties, you may, if it please you, spend two
" or three days to see both the camps and forts.
" And thus far, but no further, can I consent to
" adventure your person."[41] She followed his
advice, and about a fortnight later proceeded to Aug. 9.
Tilbury. It was a proud moment for Elizabeth.
The danger was now over: the armada which
had threatened to overturn her throne, was
struggling with adverse winds on its way to
Spain: and the people, intoxicated with joy,
expressed the most ardent attachment to her
person. Mounted on a white palfrey, and bear-
ing a marshal's truncheon in her hand, she rode
along the ranks: the soldiers rent the air with
acclamations of triumph; and these raw re-
cruits expressed their regret, that they had not
been permitted to measure arms with the veteran
forces of Spain.[42]

The important services of the lord admiral The death of Leicester.

[41] Hardwicke papers, i. 577.

[42] I have not noticed the speech, said to have been spoken by her at Tilbury. It might have been prepared for her as an address to the soldiers if it had been necessary. But she certainly could not exhort them to fight, after the enemy was gone, and when she had resolved to disband the army immediately.

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and of his officers were not overlooked by the queen: but, in her estimation, they could not be compared with those of Leicester. He stood without a rival; and to reward his transcendent merit, a new and unprecedented office was created, which would have conferred on him an authority almost equal to that of his sovereign. He was appointed lord lieutenant of England and Ireland: and the warrant lay ready for the royal signature, when the remonstrances of Burleigh and Hatton induced her to hesitate: and the unexpected death of the favourite concealed her weakness from the knowledge of the public. On the queen's departure from Tilbury, Leicester had disbanded the army, and set out for his castle of Kenilworth; but, at Cornbury Park, in Oxfordshire, his progress was arrested by a violent disease, which, whether it arose from natural causes, or the anguish of disappointed ambition, or from poison administered by his wife and her supposed paramour, quickly terminated his existence. If tears are a proof of affection, those shed by the queen on this occasion, shewed that hers was seated deeply in the heart; but there was another passion as firmly rooted there, the love of money, which induced her, at the same time that she lamented the loss of her favourite, to order the public sale of his goods, for the discharge of certain sums which he owed to the exchequer.[43]

Sept. 4.

[43] Camden, 583. In Strype is a singular examination of Ed-

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His character.

Leicester in his youth had possessed that external appearance, which was sure to arrest the eye, and warm the heart of Elizabeth. With handsome features and well-proportioned limbs, he joined a tall and portly figure, a qualification necessary for those who aspired to the rank of her favourites. By the spirit of his conversation, the ardour of his flattery, and the expence of his entertainments, he so confirmed the ascendency, which he had acquired, that for thirty years, though he might occasionally complain of the caprice or infidelity of his mistress, he always triumphed over every competitor. As a statesman or a commander he displayed little ability: but his rapacity and ambition knew no bounds. Many years elapsed before he would resign his pretensions to the hand of his sovereign,[44] and we have just seen, that only the week before his death, he prevailed on her to

ward Croft, and one Smith, a pretended magician. Croft, on the imprisonment of his father, consulted Smith, who informed him that Leicester was a great enemy of sir James: that he would never return out of the country; that he had already been muzzled by him; and that he would shortly die. Strype, iii. 594. App. 269.

[44] The Scottish queen says, that Elizabeth made him a promise of marriage. (Murdin, 558.) The assertion is confirmed by the dispatches of the bishop of Aquila, the Spanish ambassador, still preserved at Simancas. The bishop, who was in great favour both with the queen and the council, details the artifices employed by Elizabeth and Leicester to induce him to mention their projected marriage to Philip, and to procure from him an answer in its favour. At length, he informs his sovereign, that they had been actually but secretly contracted to each other in the house of the earl of Pembroke.

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promise him a much larger share of the royal authority, than had ever, in such circumstances, been conferred on a subject. Were we to judge of his moral character from the language of his writings, we should allot to him the praise of distinguished piety:[45] but if we listen to the report of his contemporaries, the delusion vanishes, and he stands before us as the most dissolute and unprincipled of men. We are told, that among the females, married or unmarried, who formed the court of Elizabeth, two only escaped his solicitations; that his first wife was murdered by his order; that he disowned his marriage with the second, for the sake of a more favoured mistress: and that to obtain her he first triumphed over her virtue, and then administered poison to her husband. To these instances has been added a long catalogue of crimes, of treachery to his friends, of assassination of his enemies, and of acts of injustice and extortion towards those who had offended his pride, or refused to bend to his pleasure. The reader will pause before he gives his unqualified assent to such reports: yet, when he has made every allowance for the envy and malice of political enemies, when he has rejected every charge which is not supported by probable evidence,

[45] "I never yet," says Naunton, "saw a style or phrase more "seemingly religious and fuller of the strains of devotion." Fragmenta regalia in the Phœnix, 193. Such of his letters as are still extant, are of this description.

there will still remain much to stamp infamy on the character of Leicester. In the year 1584, the history of his life, or rather of his crimes, was published in a tract entitled, " a Dialogue " between a Scholar, Gentleman, and Lawyer;" but afterwards known by the name of " Leices- " ter's Commonwealth." It was generally attributed to the pen of Persons, the celebrated jesuit: but, whoever were the author, he had woven his story with so much art, had descended to such minuteness of detail, and had so confidently appealed to the knowledge of living witnesses for the truth of his assertions, that the book extorted the belief and the applause of its readers. Edition after edition was poured into the kingdom, till the queen herself came forward to vindicate the character of her favourite. She pronounced the writer, " an incarnate devil," declared that of her own knowledge (it was a bold expression) she was able to attest the innocence of the earl; and ordered the magistrates to seize and destroy every copy, which could be discovered.[46] But, if the will of the

[46] Such interposition in favour of a subject may appear extraordinary; but the queen's letter of thanks to lord and lady Shrewsbury, for the attention which they had paid to Leicester at Chatsworth, is still more so. In it she almost acknowledges him for her husband. " We should do him great wronge (houlding him in that " place of favor we do) in case we should not let you undustand " in how thanckfull sorte we accept the same at both your hands, " not as don unto him but to our owne self, reputing him as ano- " ther ourself," &c. Ledge, ii. 155.

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sovereign could silence the tongues, it did not satisfy the reason, of her subjects. The accomplished sir Philip Sydney took a different course. He attempted a refutation of the libel. But with all his abilities he sunk under the task; he abused the author, but did not disprove the most important of his statements: and the failure alone of so able a scholar and contemporary, will justify a suspicion, that there was more of truth in the book, than he was willing to admit, and more of crime in the conduct of his uncle, than it was in his power to clear away.[47]

[47] See it in the Sydney, papers, i. 62. As the work was printed in France, several applications were made to Henry III. to seize and burn the books, and punish the publisher and venders. Life of Egerton by F. H. Egerton, p. 43. 48.

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CONDEMNATION OF THE EARL OF ARUNDEL—SUFFERINGS OF THE CATHOLICS—OF THE PURITANS—FAVOUR OF THE EARL OF ESSEX—UNFORTUNATE EXPEDITION AGAINST SPAIN PROCEEDINGS IN FRANCE—SUCCESSION OF HENRY IV.—SUCCOUR SENT TO HIM FROM ENGLAND—EXECUTION OF LOPEZ—CAPTURE OF CADIZ—PROJECT IN FAVOUR OF A SPANISH SUCCESSOR—ANOTHER EXPEDITION AGAINST SPAIN—SPANISH FLEET IN THE CHANNEL—PEACE BETWEEN FRANCE AND SPAIN—DISSENSIONS IN THE CABINET—EXECUTION OF SQUIRES—DEATH OF BURLEIGH—CONDUCT OF THE KING OF SCOTLAND.

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Public demonstrations of joy.

THE defeat of the armada had thrown the nation into a frenzy of joy. The people expressed their feelings by bonfires, entertainments, and public thanksgivings: the queen, whether she sought to satisfy the religious animosities of her subjects, or to display her gratitude to the Almighty by punishing the supposed enemies of his worship, celebrated her triumph with the immolation of human victims. A commission was issued: a selection was made from the catholics in prison on account of religion; and six clergymen were indicted for their priestly character: four laymen for having been reconciled to the catholic church: and four others, among whom was a gentlewoman of the name of Ward, for having aided, or harboured, priests. These immediately, and fifteen of their companions, within the three

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next months, suffered the cruel and infamous punishment of traitors. It was not so much as whispered that they had been guilty of any act of disloyalty. On their trials nothing was objected to them, but the practice of their religion.[1]

Trial of the earl of Arundel.

Not satisfied with the blood of these victims, the persecutors looked forward to one of more exalted rank. The reader will recollect the fine and imprisonment, to which the earl of Arundel had been condemned. For a considerable time after his trial he had been treated with unusual severity: by degrees the rigour of his confinement was relaxed; and he obtained permission to frequent the contiguous cell of William Bennet, one of queen Mary's priests; where he occasionally heard mass, and met two fellow-prisoners, sir Thomas Gerard and William Shelley. For this indulgence his countess had given a bribe of thirty pounds to the daughter of the lieutenant: but the result provoked a suspicion that it had been granted with the connivance of some greater personage, who sought the ruin of the noble captive. On the appearance of "the "armada," Arundel received a hint, that the moment the Spaniards set their feet on English ground, he and the other catholic prisoners in the Tower infallibly would be massacred. Their danger naturally became the subject of conversation among them: some recommend one expedient, some another: and the earl sug-

[1] Stow, 749, 750. Challoner, 209—237.

gested that they should join in one common form of prayer to solicit the protection of heaven. The proposal was at first adopted, but afterwards abandoned by the advice of Shelley, under the apprehension that it might be misrepresented to the queen. The armada, however, failed; no massacre was attempted; but Shelley, Gerard, and Bennet, were removed to different prisons, where they underwent separate examinations, respecting the language and conduct of Arundel. The answer of the first was harmless: Gerard represented him as a well-wisher to the Spaniards: and Bennet, if we may believe himself, by menaces of the rack and the halter, confessed that the earl had asked him to celebrate mass for the success of the invaders.[2] On these

[2] On the second examination of the earl, both Gerard and Bennet were introduced: but he was not allowed to speak in their presence, and therefore refused to make answer after they were gone. Burleigh put to him the question, "Is not every man a "traitor who shall say that the pope has power to depose the "queen? By the catholics this question was considered as the forerunner of death: because it was devised to cast a doubt on the sincerity of those who denied the deposing power; and there were many, who while they denied that power themselves, yet hesitated to declare those traitors who maintained it. The earl replied: "I "never yet heard any man say that he had: when I do, you shall "hear what I say." He was told that he must reply, yes or no. "I wonder," he exclaimed, "that such questions are asked of me, "seeing I was never accused of such matters; but both have been, "and am, at all times, ready to serve the queen, with life and limb, "against any foreign prince or potentate whatsoever." Hatton asked, "What, against the pope?" Is not the pope," said the earl in return, "included in the name of foreign prince or potentate?". The report of his examination was then given him to read,

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depositions was grounded a charge of high treason: the queen appointed the earl of Derby lord high steward for the trial: and the prisoner was brought to Westminster hall, to plead for his life before that nobleman and twenty-four other peers. The crown lawyers had introduced into the indictment all the matter which had formerly been urged in the star-chamber against him: but the real subject of inquiry lay within a much narrower compass: whether he had or had not solicited others to pray with him for the success of the Spaniards. The principal witnesses were Gerard and Bennet. When the first appeared, the prisoner called on him, in the name of the living God, to speak the truth, and to remember that he must hereafter give a second account before a more awful tribunal. At this solemn adjuration Gerard trembled, muttered a few words and was withdrawn. Against the testimony of Bennet was produced one of his own letters, in which he acknowledged that his confession before the commissioners was false, and had been extorted from his weakness by menaces of torture and death:[3]

but he would not sign it, because it stated that he had refused to give any answer to the question; which he declared to be untrue; he had answered it sufficiently to satisfy any reasonable man. In his own account, he says, he knew that he might have answered more clearly in the affirmative, but it was unnecessary, as his death was already determined, and unwise, as his words would, according to custom, have been misrepresented. MS. Life of the earl of Arundel, c. xiii.

[3] See this letter in Strype, iii. App 250.

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he, on the contrary, to support his credit, asserted that the letter was written by Randal, a fellow-prisoner, and addressed to the earl without his consent or his signature. Randal, however, was not examined: and Arundel most solemnly protested that the prayers which he had proposed, had no reference to the invasion: he merely sought the protection of heaven for himself and his companions, who had been threatened with assassination, After an hour's debate the peers found him guilty: he heard the judgment pronounced with composure and cheerfulness; and begged as a last favour, that he might be allowed, before his death, to see his wife and his son, a child about five years old, who had been born since his confinement in the Tower. No answer was returned.[4]

His death.

It must be acknowledged that the queen had some reason to be jealous of this nobleman. The execution of his father, the wrongs which he had lately suffered himself, and his high rank, (he was by birth the first peer of the realm) had pointed him out to the queen of Scots, to Morgan, and to many of the exiles, as the fittest person to be placed at the head of any party, which might be formed against the government. But his condemnation was an act of policy, not of justice. No one pretended that he had ever assented to such projects: it was not proved

[4] MS. Life, c. xiv. State Trials, 1250—1264. Camd. 595—600.

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that they were so much as known to him. The charge on which he was tried, was certainly unfounded. In his subsequent correspondence with the council, in his confidential letters to his wife and his confessor, he always asserted his innocence, and declared his resolution to maintain it, even on the scaffold. Burleigh and Hatton advised the queen to spare him. She had taken the life of his father: let her not stain her reputation with the blood of the son. He had now ceased to be a subject of apprehension: he lay at her mercy: on the slightest provocation, on the first appearance of danger, the sentence might be carried into execution. She suffered herself to be persuaded: yet carefully concealed her intention from the knowledge of the prisoner, who lived for several years under the impression that the axe was still suspended over his head; and never rose in the morning without some apprehension that before night he might expire on the scaffold. In 1595 he was suddenly taken ill at table:[5] the skill of his physician checked the rapidity, but could not subdue the force of his disease: and he died at the end of two months, in the eleventh year of his imprisonment. He was buried in the same grave with his father, in the chapel in the Tower.

[5] After eating of some teal. This circumstance provoked a suspicion of poison: while others attributed his disease to his religious austerities. Camden, 789. In 1624 his body was transferred to arundel: and his son recorded his suspicion in his epitaph. Non absque veneni suspicione. MS. Life, xvi. xviii.

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In her conduct towards this unfortunate nobleman, the queen betrayed an unaccountable spirit of revenge. He seems to have given some deep but secret offence, which, though it was never divulged, could never be forgotten. There was a time when he seemed to engross her favour: when he shone the foremost in all her parties, and bore a principal share in the festivities and gallantries of her court. But from the moment that he returned to the society of his countess, he was marked out for the victim of her displeasure. During his long and severe imprisonment, he could not once obtain permission, not even on the approach of death, to see his wife or his children, or any one of his relations, protestant or catholic. Nor did the rancour of the queen expire with its principal object. As long as she lived, lady Arundel was doomed to feel the royal displeasure. She could not remove from her house without danger of offence: she was obliged to solicit permission to visit London even for medical advice: and whenever Elizabeth meant to repair to St. James's, the countess received an order to quit the capital before the queen's arrival.[6]

Sufferings of the catholics

From the defeat of the armada till the death of the queen, during the lapse of fourteen years, the catholics groaned under the pressure of incessant prosecution. Sixty-one clergymen, forty-seven laymen, and two gentlewomen, suf-

[6] MS. Life of the Countess. (See note (CC.)

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fered capital punishment for some or other of the spiritual felonies and treasons, which had been lately created. Generally the court dispensed with the examination of witnesses: by artful and ensnaring questions an avowal was drawn from the prisoner, that he had been reconciled, or had harboured a priest, or had been ordained beyond the sea, or that he admitted the ecclesiastical supremacy of the pope, or rejected that of the queen. Any one of these crimes was sufficient to consign him to the scaffold. Life, indeed, was always offered, on the condition of conformity to the established worship: but the offer was generally refused; the refusal was followed by death; and the butchery, with very few exceptions, was performed on the victim, while he was yet in perfect possession of his senses [7]

[7] See the histories of most of them collected in Challoner's Memoirs of Missionary Priests, vol. i. There are many letters extant, describing the horror which these executions excited in other nations. Their resolution and manner of death, says Standen, "being set out to the world in print, in sundry languages, hath "bred such a hatred against the regiment of the realm in general, "as most are scandalized therewith." Hitherto these rigours had been attributed to Leicester and Walsingham: their continuance was ascribed to the councils of Burleigh: who "was now considered "by all the catholics in christendom, an open, declared, and pro-"fessed enemy to their faith and religion, never having plucked "off his mask till these latter years." Birch, i. 84. 89. Burleigh replies: "that though their outward pretence be to be sent from "the seminaries, to convert people to their religion, yet without "reconciling them of their obedience to the queen, they never give "them absolution. Such in our realm, as refuse to come to our "churches and yet do not discover (disown) their obedience to the

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Penalties of recusancy.

These executions, however, affected but a small part of the catholic population: the great grievance consisted in the penalties of recusancy. If we consider the relative value of money, we shall see that it required an ample fortune to pay the perpetual fine of twenty pounds per lunar month: most gentlemen were compelled to sell a considerable portion of their property, that they might satisfy the demand: and, whenever they were in arrear, the queen was empowered by law to seize all their personality and two thirds of their real estate every six months.[8] For this purpose, returns of the names and of the property of the recusants in each county were repeatedly required by the council: and the best expedient of the sufferers was to prevail on the queen, through the influence of her favourites, to accept an annual composition.[9] Yet even then they were not allowed to live in quiet. They were still liable to a year's imprisonment, and a fine of one hundred marks

"queen, be taxed with fines according to the law, without danger "of their lives. And if Mr. Standen were truly informed of this "manner of proceeding, and would judge indifferently thereof, he "might change his mind." Birch, i. 94. The first part of the answer is undoubtedly false: the second is an open avowal of persecution. It appears, however, from a paper in his hand-writing, that he wished priests to be hanged only, and "that the manner of draw-"ing and quartering were forborne." Strype, iii. 622.

[8] St. 29 Eliz. c. 6.

[9] These compositions were so unwelcome to Cooper, bishop of Winchester, that he petitioned the council to remove the compounders out of the shire, "to some place where they might do less "harm." Strype, iii. 240. 419.

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for every time that they heard mass: on each successive rumour of invasion they were confined, at their own charges, in the jail of the county:[10] they were assessed, as often as it appeared proper to the council, in certain sums towards the levy of soldiers for the queen's service: on their discharge from prison they were either confined in the house of a protestant gentleman, or, if they were permitted to return to their homes, were made liable to the forfeiture of their goods, lands, and annuities, during life, for the new offence of straying more than five miles from their own doors.[11] Yet many of these men had signed declarations of loyalty which satisfied the council, and had engaged to fight in defence of their sovereign against any foreign prince, pope, or potentate whatsoever.[12] They were treated in this manner, if we may believe Burleigh himself, not so much for their own demerits, as to prove to the queen's enemies abroad, that in the case of invasion they must expect to derive little aid from the more wealthy of the catholic body in England.[13]

Thus it was with men of property. Recusants

[10] The zeal of Topcliffe, not content with the incarceration of the men, wished the women also to be confined: "seeing far greater is "the fury of a woman once resolved to evil, than the rage of a man." His proposal to Burleigh is in Strype, iv. 39.

[11] St. 35 Eliz. c. 2.

[12] See some of these oaths in Strype, iii. 191. 564. Kirby's Suffolk Traveller, 193. [13] Strype's Whitgift, 327. See note (DD.)

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The lot of the poorer recusants.

in meaner circumstances were at first thrown into prison. But the jails were soon crowded: the counties complained of the expense of their maintenance; and the queen ordered them to be discharged at the discretion of the magistrates. From some nothing more was required than a promise of good behaviour: some had their ears bored with a hot iron; others were publicly whipped.[14] It was afterwards enacted, that all recusants not possessing twenty marks a year, should conform within three months after conviction, or abjure the realm, under the penalty of felony without benefit of clergy, if they were afterwards found at large. But the severity of the act defeated its purpose: and the magistrates contented themselves with occasionally granting commissions to their officers, to visit a certain district, and to levy discretional sums on the poorest recusants, as a composition for the legal fine.[15]

Domiciliary searches.

In addition to these sufferings must be men-

[14] Bridgwater, 375. Strype, iii. 169. The numbers were so great, that at one sessions in Hampshire 400, at the assizes in Lancashire 600 recusants were presented. Id. 478. App. 98. Cooper to get rid of them, presented "a humble petition that one hundred "or two, lusty men, well able to labour, might by some commission "be taken up, and sent into Flanders, as pyoners and labourers for "the armys." Ibid. 169.

[15] St. 25 Eliz. c. 2. I have in my possession a curious manuscript account of the exactions of William Ratcliff, an officer, who about Christmas 1585, proceeded through most of the villages in Cleveland, with a commission for this purpose from Carey, Constable, and Rokesby, three magistrates.

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tioned the domiciliary visits in search of catholic clergymen, which have formerly been described. At first they were events of rare occurrence: but now they were repeated frequently in the year, often on the slightest suspicion, on the arrival of a stranger, on the groundless information of an enemy, a discharged servant, or a discontented tenant: sometimes for the sole purpose of plunder, and sometimes through the hope of reward: as the forfeiture of the estate followed the apprehension of the priest. This, in the memorials of the age, is described as the most intolerable of grievances. It was in vain that the catholic gentleman withdrew himself from the eyes of the public, and sought an asylum in solitude. His house afforded him no security: even in the bosom of his family he passed his time in alarm and solicitude; and was exposed at every moment to the capricious visits of men, whose pride was flattered by the wanton exercise of authority over their betters, or whose fanaticism taught them to believe, that they rendered a service to God by insulting and oppressing the idolatrous papist.[16]

[16] Such at least are the complaints of the sufferers in several manuscript papers in my possession. The searches sometimes comprised a whole district. In 1584, fifty gentlemen's houses were visited on the same night, and almost all the owners dragged to prison. Bridgwater, 299. Cooper proposed, that they should take place every three weeks or month. Strype, iii. 240. In Lodge may be seen instances of the injustice, which often was committed on such occasions. Sir Godfrey Foljambe apprehended his grand-

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Proceedings against the puritans.

It was observed that among those who gloried in the execution of "these godly laws," none were more distinguished by their violence, than the protestant recusants.[17] But, if Elizabeth allowed them to display their zeal by tormenting her catholic subjects, she was still watchful that they did not lay their irreverent hands on the book of common prayer, and continued to prohibit the new form of service, which they had established for themselves. Their petitions for favour, the suggestions of their friends in the council, the efforts of their brethren in parliament, failed to move her resolution. At last their patience was exhausted. They appealed to the public with all the bitterness of disappointed

mother, and promised, "by God's helpe to keep her safely." Lodge, ii. 375. The result shewed the real object of this godly grandson. When, after a confinement of twenty months, the council ordered lady Foljambe to be restored to liberty, he complied; but still kept "her living, goods, and chattels," for his own use. Ibid. 372. In the same search, two priests were discovered at Padley, a house belonging to sir Thomas Fitzherbert, and inhabited by his brother. The earl of Shrewsbury, without further ceremony, took possession of the house and demesne of Padley, and finding there the deeds of another estate, called Foultcliff, kept them, and entered on that property also: "things," says sir Thomas, "greater than my presente poore estate can suffer, or in any wise "bear, I payinge her majesty the statute of recusancie, being 240*l.* "by yeare, which is more than all my rents yearlie rise unto." Ibid. 402. See note (EE.)

[17] Some of them were animated with such a hatred of idolatry, as they termed it, that they travelled as far as Rome, to display their zeal. The excesses and answers of these fanatics may be seen in Maffei, Annali, ii. 217, 218, 219.

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zeal: and the friends of the establishment were surprised and alarmed by a succession of hostile and popular pamphlets. The titles of these writings were quaint; their language declamatory and scurrilous; their object to bring the hierarchy into discredit and contempt. But the queen threw over the clergy the ægis of her protection. She issued a severe proclamation against the authors, publishers, and possessors of seditious libels: and the court of the star-chamber restrained the exercise of the art of printing to the metropolis and the two universities; to a single press in each of these, and to a certain number in London, with a prohibition to print, sell, bind, or stitch any work, which had not previously obtained the approbation of the bishop or archbishop.[18] Yet, in defiance of these regulations, copies of the more obnoxious publications were multiplied and circulated through every part of the kingdom. They issued from an ambulatory press, which was secretly conveyed from house to house, and from county to county. But no ingenuity could long elude the vigilance of the pursuivants. The palladium of the ultra-reformers was discovered, and demolished in the vicinity of Manchester.

Condemnation of Udal.

One of these works, entitled "a demonstration "of discipline," had been traced to the pen of

[18] See the original in Strype's Whitgift, app. 94.

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Udal, a puritan minister. He was brought to trial at Croydon. The jury, on very questionable evidence, found him guilty of the fact: the court, on still more questionable grounds, determined that the book was a libel on the person of the queen, because it inveighed against the government of the church established by her authority. By this decision he was brought within the operation of the statute originally framed against the catholics. But though he received judgment of death, intercession was made in his favour by the king of Scots and sir Walter Raleigh: by degrees he recanted most of his opinions unfavourable to the establishment: and his pardon was already made out, when he died in prison, a victim to the anxiety of his own mind, and the severity of his confinement.[19]

1590. July 24.

1591. Feb. 20.

June 15.

Cartwright, the leader of the nonconformists, with nine of his associates, had been summoned before the ecclesiastical commission, and refused to answer interrogatories upon oath. Such

Imprisonment of Cartwright. 1590. Sept. 1.

[19] State Trials, i. 1271. Strype's Whitgift, 375—377. The seditious passages in the indictment were these, "Who can without "blushing deny you (the bishops) to be the cause of all ungodli-"ness? .. the government giveth leave unto a man to be any thing "save a sound christian. You retain the popish hierarchy first "reigning in the midst of the mystery of iniquity," &c. Against him it was maintained, that the bishops were part of the queen's body politic, and therefore by depraving them, he had depraved her. See several papers respecting his trial and submission, in Strype, iv. 21—30.

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1591. May. June.

a demand was, he contended, contrary, to the law of the land, and to the law of God. In the star-chamber they all persisted in their refusal. Their obstinacy was punished with imprisonment; but it gave rise to an animated controversy, which, though of no benefit to these individuals, contributed to open the eyes of men to the injustice of administering to prisoners the oath ex officio, and thus placing them under the cruel necessity of committing perjury, or bearing witness against themselves.[20]

Execution of Hacket.

At this time the resentment of the queen had been stimulated by the ungovernable fanaticism of three members of their communion. Hacket, a person of low birth, and not a very creditable character, had listened to the exhortations of some of the preachers. He soon put on the appearance of superior sanctity, made pretension to supernatural powers, and professed to believe that his body was animated with the

[20] Fuller, 198. Neal, c. viii. Strype's Whitgift, 326. 362. 366. App. 142. This practice of administering the oath ex officio, compelled some persons, chiefly among the catholics, to adopt the doctrine of mental reservation: that it was lawful for the respondent, on such occasions, to deny the knowledge of matters which would criminate him, understanding in his own mind, that he did not know them for the purpose of revealing them. In support of this dangerous doctrine, it was alleged, that Christ himself had practised it, when he said he would not go up to Jerusalem, and that he did not know the day of judgment: meaning, that he did not know these things for the purpose of revealing them. It was, however, confined by its advocates to matters of conscience. See Strype, iv. 307.

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soul of John the Baptist. The magistrates of Lincoln vainly endeavouied to convince him of the delusion by a public whipping: from the tail of the cart he hastened to London, to prepare the way of the Lord before his second coming; and to denounce, as the prophet of vengeance, the plagues which would fall on the realm, in consequence of its opposition to a thorough reformation. He was accompanied by Coppinger and Arthington, two gentlemen of slender fortunes, whose enthusiasm led them to believe in the divine mission of Hackett. One morning they issued from his lodgings, as the prophets of judgment and mercy, ran through the streets exclaiming, "Repent, England, repent!" and at Charing Cross harangued the people from a waggon. They declared that the reformation was at hand; that Hacket, as the representative of Christ, and clothed in the glorified body of the Messiah, was come with his fan in his hand to separate the wheat from the chaff; that he was king of the world; that all princes must acknowledge him for their sovereign: and that the queen would be deprived of her crown for her opposition to the godly work of reformation. The people heard them with astonishment, but without applause; unable to procure followers, they returned to Hacket; and all three were apprehended and condemned as traitors. Hacket died, venting the most horrid blasphemies; Coppinger starved himself, or

July 19.

July 26.

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was starved in prison; Arthington read his recantation, and obtained his pardon.[21]

July 18.

At first the extravagance of these fanatics threw considerable odium on the cause of the imprisoned ministers. It was pretended that, if a rising had been effected, men of greater weight would have placed themselves at the head of the insurgents, and have required from the queen the abolition of the prelacy. But no proof could be brought of any such projects: the visionary schemes of the three prophets were condemned by the more moderate of their brethren; and the cause of Cartwright and his associates, when the surprise of the public had subsided, was again left to its own merits. After some time, the bishops retired from a contest, in which they found themselves abandoned by the majority of the council; and the prisoners, at the end of eighteen months, were discharged, on a promise of good behaviour.[22]

1592. March.

Proceedings in parliament.

Their refusal, however, to take the oath ex officio, gave rise to a motion, in the next session of parliament, for a reform in the practice of

[21] Stow, 760. Collier, ii. 627. 630. Camden, 630, 634. On examination, they all declared, that they were moved by the spirit to act as they had done. The two prophets refused to uncover their heads, because they were of higher dignity than the commissioners. Hacket was indicted: 1°. that he said that the queen had forfeited the crown; 2°. that he had thrust a bodkin into that part of her picture which represented her heart. He pleaded guilty on the first, and stood mute on the second. Strype, iv. 68.

[22] Strype's Whitgift, 270. App. 154.

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the ecclesiastical courts. But the attempt was crushed in its infancy by the despotism of the queen; who, sending that afternoon for the speaker, bade him remind the house that she had the power to call or dissolve the parliament; to assent to, or to dissent from, its proceedings; that she had already forbidden them to interfere in subjects above their capacities, matters of state, or causes ecclesiastical: that she wondered at their presumption and disobedience; and therefore commanded them never hereafter to entertain any motion, and him on his allegiance never to read to the house any bill, which might have a reference to such questions. Neither did she content herself with this reprimand. Morrice, the mover of the question, was arrested by a serjeant at arms in his place, was deprived of his office in the court of the dutchy of Lancaster, was disabled from practising as a barrister, and was imprisoned for several years in the castle of Tutbury.*

Act against protestant recusants.

By an act in this parliament, the protestant, like the poorer catholic recusant, was made liable to the penalty of banishment, or felony without benefit of clergy, unless he conformed within three months after conviction. But the puritans were by this time divided into two parties. The majority, the disciples of Cartwright and his associates, did not object to some parts of the established service, or to the administration

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of the sacrament as it was performed in many churches. These, therefore, by occasional and partial attendance, eluded the severity of the law. But there were others, named Brownists, or separatists, who deemed every species of communion with an unchristian church, a pollution of their consciences; and under this conviction, braved with obstinacy the threats and power of the queen. To intimidate them, five of their number were arraigned on the charge of writing and publishing seditious libels. The plea that the obnoxious passages were directed against the bishops, and not against the queen, was over-ruled; and though the publishers were spared, Barrow and Greenwood, the writers, suffered the punishment of death. Penry, a minister, was the next victim. Among his papers had been discovered a collection of unconnected sentences, said to reflect on the character of the queen. He protested that they were nothing more than the heads of a petition which he purposed to compose; and maintained that, as they had never been communicated to any other person, they could not have been a writing in the meaning of the statute. The jury found him guilty; and, to prevent any riot at the time of execution, he was suddenly called out after dinner, and hung at St. Thomas Waterings.[24]

1593. March 23.

April 6. Execution of Penry.

May 25.

May 29.

[24] Stow, 765. Strype's Whitgift, 410. 412, 413. Strype's annals, v. 176. He was supposed to be the author of Martin Marprelate.

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These executions might awaken the apprehensions, they did not subdue the obstinacy, of the separatists. Many were imprisoned; some were convicted of recusancy; a few were banished. But the queen had now grown old: the king of Scots, her presumptive heir, professed puritanical principles; and the leaders of the orthodox party saw the danger of persisting in a course which might draw upon themselves the vengeance of the next sovereign. The persecution subsided by degrees; and the separatists enjoyed a state of comparative tranquillity, long before the death of Elizabeth.

Expedients to raise money.

From these religious contests, which place in so strong a light the stern intolerant spirit of the age, we may now turn to the foreign wars and domestic intrigues which occupied the attention of the queen till the end of her reign. As soon as the intoxication of joy, excited by the defeat of the armada, had subsided, she began to calculate the expense of the victory, and stood aghast at the enormous amount. A forced loan offered the readiest way of procuring an immediate supply. The merchants of the city were rated according to their supposed ability to pay; privy seals were dispatched to the lord lieutenants of the different counties; and every recusant of fortune, every individual suspected for religion, almost every gentleman who possessed not some powerful friend at court, was compelled to advance the sum at which he had been

1588. Nov.

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1589. Mar. 8. taxed.[25] In a short time the convocation and parliament assembled. From the former the queen received a grant of two subsidies of six shillings in the pound: from the latter, of two subsidies of four shillings, four tenths and four

Mar. 29. fifteenths. With this liberal vote the commons coupled a petition to the throne. The terror of the Spanish arms was now dispelled: men thought of nothing but revenge and conquest: and the house prayed the queen to punish the insult which she had received from Philip, by carrying the scourge of war into his dominions.[26] Elizabeth praised the spirit of her affectionate people: but her exchequer was exhausted: she had no money to advance; she might supply ships of war, and a few bands of veteran soldiers, but her subjects must furnish the rest from their own resources. An association was quickly formed: at its head appeared the names of Norris and Drake, men who were justly esteemed the first in the military and naval service; and under their auspices an armament of

[25] Murdin, 632. Lansdowne MSS. lvi. 3, 4. lvii. 4. In Lodge, ii. 387, is a ludicrous instance of the power assumed by the commissioners. Bagot, employed by lord Shrewsbury to receive the money, writes to him in favour of Jolliffe, to whom a privy seal had been sent; and proceeds thus, "there is one Reynold Devill, "a man of great wealth, without wiff or charge, a usurer by occu- "pacion, and worth M. lb. He will never do good in his contree. "It were a charitable deed for your lordship to impose it (Jolliffe's "share) upon him."

[26] Wilk. Con. iv. 340. D'Ewes, 454.

nearly two hundred sail, carrying twenty-one thousand men, was collected in the harbour of Plymouth.

The earl of Essex in favour.

The reader will recollect that Lætitia, the dowager countess of Essex, had married the earl of Leicester, who introduced her son, the earl of Essex, to the queen. His youth, and address, and spirit soon captivated Elizabeth. She made him her master of the horse; on the appearance of the armada, she appointed him (he was then almost twenty-one years old) to the important office of captain-general of the cavalry; and when she visited the camp, ostentatiously displayed her fondness in the eyes of the whole army, and honoured him for his bloodless services with the order of the garter. On the death of Leicester he succeeded to the post of prime favourite: the queen required his constant attendance at court; and her indulgence of his caprice, cherished and strengthened his passions. But the company of "the old woman," had few attractions for the volatile young nobleman: and the desire of glory, perhaps the hope of plunder (for he was already twenty-two thousand pounds in debt) taught him to turn his eyes towards the armament at Plymouth.[27] Without communicating his intention to the queen, he suddenly disappeared from the court, rode with expedition to Plymouth, embarked on

[27] Murdin, 634.

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board the Swiftsure, a ship of the royal navy, and instantly put out to sea. He was scarcely
April 1. departed when the earl of Huntingdon arrived, with orders to arrest the fugitive, and bring him back a prisoner to the feet of his sovereign. Finding that he was too late, he communicated the royal instructions to the commanders of the expedition.[28]

Expedition to Corunna.

In their company was don Antonio, prior of Crato, who had unsuccessfully contended with Philip for the crown of Portugal. The queen had given orders that they should first attempt to raise a revolution in his favour: and if that failed, should scour the coast of the peninsula, and inflict on the subjects of Philip every injury in their power.[29] But Drake had too long been accustomed to absolute command in his free-booting expeditions. He refused to be shackled by instructions, and sailed directly to the har-
April 21. bour of Corunna. Several sail of merchantmen and ships of war fell into his hands: the fishermen's town or suburb was surprised: and the magazines, stored with oil and wine, became the reward of the conquerors. But it was in vain that a breach was made in the wall of the place itself: every assault was repulsed, and three hundred men perished by the unexpected fall of a tower. By this time the conde d'Andrada had intrenched himself at the Puente de Burgos.

[28] Lodge, ii. 385. Camden, 602. [29] Lodge, ii. 397.

Norris marched against him with an inferior force: the first attempt to cross the bridge failed: the next succeeded; and the invaders had the honour of pursuing their opponents more than a mile. But it was a barren honour, purchased with the loss of many valuable lives.[30] CHAP. VI. May 6.

From Corunna the commanders wrote to the queen an exaggerated account of their success, but informed her that they had received no tidings of the earl of Essex. That nobleman, probably by appointment, waited for them at Peniche, on the coast of Portugal. On their arrival it was resolved to land: Essex leaped the first into the surf; and the castle was instantly taken. Thence the fleet sailed to the mouth of the Tagus: the army marched through Torres Vedras and St. Sebastian to Lisbon. But the cardinal Albert, the governor of the kingdom, had given the command to Fonteio, an experienced captain, who destroyed all the provisions in the vicinity, and having distributed his small band of Spaniards in positions the And Lisbon. May 13. May 16.

[30] Ibid. 389—395. Birch, i. 58. Camden, 600—602. Norris and Drake appear to have been proficients in the art of composing official dispatches. They tell the council that in these battles, which were fiercely contested, they killed 1000 of the enemy with the loss of only three men. (Lodge, ibid.) But lord Talbot writes to his father: "as I hear privately, not without the loss of as many "of our men as of theirs, if not more: and without the gain of any "thing, unless it were honour, and the acquainting our men with "the use of their weapons." Ibid. 396.

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best adapted to suppress any rising in the city, patiently waited the arrival of the enemy. The
May 24. English advanced without opposition: Essex with his company knocked at the gate for admittance: but the moment they retired, the Spaniards sallied out in small parties, and surprised the weak and the stragglers. Sickness and want compelled Norris to abandon the enterprise; not a sword had been drawn in favour of Antonio: and in spite of the prayers and the representations of that prince, the army marched
May 27. to Cascais, a town already captured and plundered by Drake. From Cascais the expedition sailed on its return to England: and the next day was separated by a storm into several small squadrons. One of these took and pillaged the town of Vigo: the others, having suffered much from the weather, and still more from the vi-
June 21. gorous pursuit of Padilla with a fleet of seven-
July 3. teen gallies, successively reached Plymouth. Of the twenty-one thousand men, who sailed on this disastrous expedition, not one half, and out of eleven hundred gentlemen, not more than one third, lived to revisit their native country.[31] The

[31] Camden makes the number of men employed in the expedition 12,500, and that of the missing at its return 6000 (Camden, 601. 605): which, if he confine it to the army, will agree with more certain accounts. Baillie, the captain of the Mary German, wrote to lord Shrewsbury from Plymouth, that the land forces amounted to 20,000 men, which must be an exaggeration. Fenner, who held a high command in the fleet, gives the numbers in the text. It was, he adds, "a miserable action:" nor could he write with his hand, what his heart thought. Birch, i. 58.

queen rejoiced that she had retaliated the boast of invasion upon Philip: but she lamented the loss of lives and treasure, with which it had been purchased. The blame was laid by her on the disobedience and rapacity of the two commanders, by them partly on each other, partly on the heat of the climate, and the intemperance of the men. But these complaints were carefully suppressed: in the public accounts the loss was concealed; every advantage was magnified; and the people celebrated with joy the triumph of England over the pride and power of Spain.[32]

Rivals of Essex.

On the return of Essex to court, he found himself opposed by two rival candidates for the royal favour, sir Walter Raleigh, and sir Charles Blount. Raleigh was a soldier of fortune, who had served in France, the Netherlands, and Ireland. A quarrel with the lord Grey brought him to England, where he pleaded his cause before the council with an eloquence which excited the admiration of his hearers. Elizabeth sent for him, was pleased with his flattery and conversation, and often consulted him "as an "oracle." He accompanied her in her walks, and on one occasion threw his cloak (it was probably the only valuable cloak he had,) into the mire, that it might serve for a foot cloth to the queen. It was immediately foretold that he

[32] See the dispatches in Lodge, ibid. Birch, i. 58—61. Strype, iv. 8. Camden, 601—605. Stow, 751. 756. Maffei, Hist. ab excessu Gregorii XIII. l. ii. 48, 49.

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had made his fortune: but the eagerness of his friends brought him into collision with Essex, and the superior influence of the earl drove him from court to plant the 12,000 acres which had been granted to him in Ireland.[33] Sir Charles Blount was the second son of lord Mountjoy, and a student in the Inner Temple. One day the queen singled him out from the spectators, as she dined in public, inquired his name, gave him her hand to kiss, and bade him remain at court. At a tilting match, to prove her approbation, she sent him a queen at chess of gold, which he bound to his arm with a crimson ribbon. The jealousy of Essex induced him to remark, that "now every fool must have his "favour:" and the pride of Blount demanded satisfaction for the insult. They fought: Essex was wounded in the thigh; and the queen gratified her vanity with the conceit, "that her "beauty had been the object of their quarrel." By her command they were reconciled; and in process of time became of rivals sincere and assured friends.[34]

Proceedings in France.

1588. May 2.

But the attention of Elizabeth was soon absorbed by the extraordinary and important events which rapidly succeeded each other in France. In the last year the king had silently introduced a body of troops into Paris, that he

[33] Birch, i. 56. Naunton, in the Phenix, 209.

[34] Naunton, 212. Osborn, 32.

might awe, perhaps punish, the factious demagogues, who had obtained the uncontrolled ascendant over the minds of the citizens. The populace rose: chains were thrown across the streets, the soldiers, insulated in small bodies from each other, surrendered; and the duke of Guise became master of the capital.[35] An assembly of the states had been convoked at Blois, where the king resolved to dispatch by treachery a subject, whom he was not allowed to punish by justice. By his orders the duke was assassinated in the passage to the royal chamber: the next day the cardinal of Guise suffered the same fate: and the cardinal of Bourbon, with the chiefs of the party, was committed to prison.[36] This intelligence threw the inhabitants of the capital into the most violent ferment: the two brothers were extolled as martyrs: and the streets, the churches, and the public halls, resounded with cries of vengeance. The duke of Mayenne, the third brother, hastened from Lyons to Paris, and took upon himself, with the title of governor, the exercise of the sovereign authority. Had the king acted with vigour, he might perhaps have crushed the hydra, that opposed him: by delay he suffered his opponents to recover from their consternation; and, as a last resource, was compelled to throw himself into the arms of the king of Navarre.

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Sept. 22.

Dec. 3.

Dec. 14.

1589. April.

[35] Consult Griffet, de la journée des Barricades, Daniel, xi. 459.

[36] See the Hardwicke papers, i. 281. 296. Camden, 607.

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Assassination of Henry III. July 21.

The two monarchs with united forces advanced towards Paris. Within its walls, religious frenzy had reached the utmost height. Formerly the doctrine that the people possessed the right of deposing and punishing their sovereigns, had been confined to Knox, Goodman, and Languet:[37] of late it had been adopted by the university, acknowledged by the new parliament, and inculcated by the preachers from the pulpit. They pronounced the king an apostate, an assassin, and a tyrant: he was said to have forfeited his title to the sovereignty; and men were exhorted to free the kingdom from the rule of the monster. Jacques Clement, a young Dominican friar, of weak intellect and strong feelings, undertook the task. On the credit of a forged letter from Harlay, first president of the parliament, he obtained an introduction to Henry; and as the king bent forward to hear him, plunged a knife into his bowels. The monarch exclaimed, that he was murdered: his guards burst into the room; and Clement was immediately slain.[38] This hasty vengeance un-

Dec. 29. and Mar. 26.

July 22.

[37] Languet was the author of Junius Brutus, published by Duplessis Mornai.

[38] The following is the deposition of Bellegarde, who was present. "A jourd'hui environs les huict heures, estant en la chambre "du roi, qui estoit sur sa chaize d'affaires, sa majestè adict audict "Jacobin ce qu'il avoit à dire. Lequel Jacobin a répondu en ces "motz, Sire, Monsieur le premier president se porte bien, et vous "baise les mains, et après ces motz a dict au procureur général "qu'il voudroit bien parler au roi à part....et voyant sa majesté "que ledict Jacobin faisoit difficultè de parler, lui adict en ces

fortunately prevented the examination of the culprit: and it could never be ascertained, whether the project originated with himself, or had been suggested to him by others.

Succession of Hen. IV.

Henry died the next day; and the king of Navarre, the descendant of St. Louis by his youngest son, Robert count of Clermont, took the title of Henry IV., king of France and Navarre. Many of the catholic nobility had hitherto adhered to the royal cause, in opposition to the league; but, before they would acknowledge the new sovereign, they compelled him to sign a paper, by which he engaged not July 25. to suffer the public exercise of any other than the catholic worship, except in the towns in which it was already established; not to give offices in cities and corporations, to any but catholics; to maintain the rights and privileges of the princes, nobles, and all other faithful subjects; to punish the contrivers of the murder of the late king; and to permit the catholic lords to acquaint the pontiff with the reasons of their conduct. But the king was unable to satisfy the bigots of either party. On the one side several catholic gentlemen, distrusting his

" motz, approchez vous: ce que ledict Jacobin a faict, et s'est mis " en la place dudict sieur deposant, où incontinent il a ouy sadite " majestè, qui hausant sa voix a dict, ha mon dieu, qui a etè cause " que ledict sieur deposant a tournè la teste, ou il a veu sa dicte " majestè, debout, qui tiroit de son corps ung costeau, duquel a " plein bras il a par deux foys frappè ledict jacobin dans la face, lui " disant: ha meschant tu m'as tuè." Daniel, xi. 505. notes.

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sincerity, left the royal camp with their followers: on the other nine regiments of protestants, refused to fight under the colours of a sovereign, who had engaged to support what they deemed an idolatrous worship.[39] Weakened by desertions, Henry raised the siege of Paris, divided his army, and retired with a small force into Normandy. The duke of Mayenne pursued: but the king intrenched himself at

Sept. 10. Arques, near Dieppe, and repulsed the army of the enemy, though four times as numerous as his own. Within a few days, he received from

Sept. 20. Elizabeth the sum of 20,000*l.* in gold to pay his foreign troops, and an aid of 4000 Englishmen, under the command of lord Willoughby. He was now able to act offensively. By a forced

Oct. 20. march he retraced his steps, surprised the suburbs of Paris, returned by Tours into Normandy, and reduced several towns of importance. During the campaign, the English supported by their bravery the honour of their country: but they suffered severely in several actions; and the survivors were dismissed with thanks in the beginning of the following year.[40]

Expeditions to France.

The dutchy of Bretagne, originally a female fee, had been annexed to the French crown by a marriage with a female. Hence it was now claimed by the king of Spain for his daughter

[39] Camden, 662. [40] Ibid. 610, 611.

the infanta, as representative of her mother Elizabeth of France; and at the same time by the duke of Mercœur in right of his wife, a descendant of the ancient dukes. Instead of opposing each other, they agreed to co-operate in the conquest of the dutchy, and then to settle their respective pretensions: the duke obtained possession of several towns, and a Spanish fleet brought him a reinforcement of 5000 men. To Elizabeth this establishment of a hostile force on the opposite coast was a subject of considerable anxiety: she entered into several negociations with Henry for their expulsion, and year after year, fitted out expeditions for the coast of Bretagne. But her habitual parsimony so cramped her efforts, that the English were too weak to undertake any enterprize of importance: and the king of France was so busily employed in other parts, that he could never afford them any effectual assistance. Each year their numbers dwindled away through disease and the casualties of war; the next spring the deficiency was supplied with new levies: but the result was invariably the same; and these expeditions, though they might perhaps keep the enemy in check, added nothing to the reputation of the country, and did little service to the common cause.[41]

[41] Ibid. 619, 620. 627. The chief expedition was one of 4000 men, under the young earl of Essex, whose inexperience was atoned for by his favour with the queen. She had chosen Shirley

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The king abjures the reformed creed.

The state papers of the time, which are still extant in considerable numbers, shew the restless and irritable condition of the royal mind under many disappointments. The queen's resolves were perpetually changing; nothing that was done, could please her: she reprimanded and threatened her ministers at home, and her agents abroad; her favourite Essex, and Unton her ambassador.[42] But the conduct of the king of France, his apparent indifference to her interests and wishes, and his vexatious demands of additional aid in reply to every complaint, furnished the severest trial to her patience. Aware that she dared not shew her resentment, he laughed in secret at her menaces. When he ascended the throne, he had given his word that he would study the grounds of the ancient faith. To the reformed ministers this promise proved a source of alarm and scandal: it was ridiculed by the courtiers; and was considered by the English queen as a mere evasion. But experience convinced Henry, that he must redeem his pledge, if he meant to reign in tranquillity. He assisted at several conferences between the catholic prelates and the reformed divines; and

and Wilkes to act as his counsellors: but they evaded the unwelcome task. "I have not known," says the latter, "so gallant a "troop go out of England with so many young and untrained com- "manders." Sydney papers, i. 327.

[42] See Rymer, xvi. from the beginning to p. 200: also Murdin, 644—1653. Birch, Negociations, 1—14.

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1593. July 13.

in 1593, announced his intention of conforming to the ancient worship. Burleigh immediately composed for the queen a remonstrance, shewing the disgrace and danger of such a step; Elizabeth added a letter in her own hand: but the messenger arrived too late; the ceremony of abjuration had already been performed; and the king returned an answer, apologizing for his conduct, and confirming his former assurances of gratitude and esteem. At the first shock the queen loudly charged him with perfidy and duplicity: but this burst of passion was succeeded by an unusual depression of spirits, from which she sought relief in the study of theology. She held frequent conferences with the archbishop; she spent much of her time in reading the scriptures; and she consulted the writings of the ancient fathers. But though she might thus confirm her own faith, she dared not blame the apostacy of Henry. Policy demanded, that since they were no longer bound to each other by the profession of the same religion, she should secure his friendship by some other tie. A negociation ensued; and a treaty was concluded at Melun, by which both princes obliged themselves to maintain an offensive and defensive war against Philip, as long as Philip should remain at war with either party.[43] August.

[43] Camden, 661—665. Elizabeth's letter is in Hearne's notes, p. 927. It ends thus: "vostre asseurée soeur, si ce soit a la vielle "mode; avecque la novelle je n'ay que faire. E. R."

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Plots against the queen's life.

The public mind was now agitated by rumours of plots to take the life of the queen. The death of Mary Stuart had not, as she anticipated, secured her from danger; it made her appear to foreign nations as an usurper who, to secure herself on the throne, had shed the blood of the true heir: their prejudice against her was augmented by the continued execution of the catholic missionaries, the narratives of their sufferings, and the prints representing the manner of their punishment;[44] and there were not wanting men of heated imaginations, who persuaded themselves that they should render a service to mankind by the removal of a woman, who appeared to them in the light of a sanguinary and unprincipled tyrant.[45] That such projects were sometimes entertained, we can hardly doubt, after the several convictions which took place: and yet it is extremely difficult to fix on any one particular instance, in which the guilt of the accused appears to have been fairly proved. The truth is, that both Elizabeth and

[44] See note (FF). at the end.

[45] There exist in the archives at Simancas several notices of such offers. Persons also informs us, that he himself had dissuaded some individuals, and particularly one, who, "for delivering of "catholique people from persecution had resolved to lose his own "life, or to take away that of her majestie." He had already proceeded more than one hundred miles on his journey, when Persons met him, and after much reasoning prevailed on him to lay aside the project, chiefly on the ground that "the English catholiques "themselves desired not to be delivered from their miseries by any "such attempt." Persons, Wardword, 71.

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Philip employed multitudes of spies, men of ruined fortunes and unprincipled minds. These, in general, whether it was for greater security or additional emolument, contrived to enter into the service of both princes; and, if they were afterwards charged with duplicity by either, sheltered themselves under the plea, that such conduct enabled them to discover and betray the secret councils of the adverse party. To satisfy their employers, they were often compelled to transmit false and alarming intelligence: sometimes they actually formed conspiracies, that they might have the merit of detecting them: and not unfrequently meeting with associates as abandoned as themselves, they perished in the very snares which they had laid for others. Hence it happened that both the English and Spanish courts were prepared to believe the existence of plots against the lives of their respective sovereigns, and that both Philip and Elizabeth charged each other with the guilt of intended assassination [46]

Trial and execution of Lopez.

Antonio Perez, formerly the secretary of Philip, had sought in England an asylum from the vengeance of his master. He was a statesman of parts and address, but vain and imprudent, deceitful and vindictive. As the possessor of

[46] Camden, 691. There are among the records at Simancas, several notices sent to Philip, of plots to assassinate him. Probably both that prince and Elizabeth attributed to each other projects of which they were equally incapable.

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important secrets, he probably expected a gracious reception from Elizabeth: but the queen refused him an audience; even Burleigh admitted him but once into his company; Essex alone listened to his suggestions, and took him under protection. To the earl he hinted some suspicion of Roderigo Lopez, a Jew and physician, who had been made prisoner in 1558, and had since, on account of his skill, been retained in the royal service. With the permission of Elizabeth, Essex, accompanied by lord Burleigh and his son sir Robert Cecil, proceeded to the house of Lopez. But these ministers were not equal in the art of detecting conspiracies to their former colleague, the dark and intriguing Walsingham, who died in the spring of 1590. The Jew was indeed strictly examined: his papers were searched; but the result was a conviction in the minds of the Cecils, that he was innocent. Elizabeth sharply reprimanded her favourite, who returning to his house, refused to leave his chamber, till by repeated messages and apologies she had "atoned" for the affront. Stimulated by vexation; and the hope of mortifying the Cecils, he resumed the inquiry: and with much labour made out a probable charge of high treason against Lopez, and two Portuguese followers of don Antonio, called Ferreira and Louis. Ferreira confessed, that by direction of the Jew he had written a letter to Fuentes and Ibarra, the Spanish minister in the Low Coun-

1594. Jan. 28.

tries, offering to poison the queen for a reward of 50,000 crowns: and Louis, that he had been commissioned by the same ministers to come to England, and urge Lopez to the execution of his promise. How far these confessions, made in the Tower, and probably on the rack, are deserving of credit, may be doubted. Letters were certainly intercepted, which proved the existence of a plot, to set fire to the fleet: and the Jew himself acknowledged, that he had occasionally received presents from the Spanish court, and had in return made general offers of service: but he denied that he had ever done, or meant to do, any thing prejudicial to the person of the queen: and it may be observed, as some confirmation of his statement, that on one occasion he had shewn her a valuable ring which he had received, and put to her the question, whether it were not allowed him "to deceive the "deceiver." All three on their trials were found guilty; but judgment was respited during three months, in the hope that they would make further discoveries.[47] After their execution the

Feb. 28.

June 7.

[47] On the treason of Lopez, see Camden, 676, 677. Birch, i. 149—152. 156—160. Murdin, 669. Bacon's Works, ii. 106. edition of 1802. Bacon wrote his account at the desire of his patron, the earl of Essex.—Two letters had been obtained, brought by Louis from Fuentes and Ibarra. It was difficult to discover their real meaning. By these ministers it was pretended that they referred to an intrigue which Walsingham, who was dead, had carried on with some of the secretaries to the Spanish council: but Louis was induced to refer them to the assassination of the queen. Birch, i. 156. Murdin, 680. I cannot explain how it happens that both Camden, 677,

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queen wrote to the archduke Ernest, the new governor of Flanders, requesting a passport for a gentleman, who would inform him of the desperate practices of Fuentes and Ibarra, and would demand the surrender of her traitorous subjects, Owen, Throckmorton, Holt the jesuit, and Worthington and Gifford, professors of theology. The archduke complied, but with so little ceremony that the pride of Elizabeth was offended, and the passport was returned.[43]

Oct.

Henry threatens to make peace with Spain.

The king of France, in compliance with an article in the late treaty, had declared war against Spain. He had soon reason to doubt the policy, and repent of the precipitancy, of the measure. Velasco, constable of Castile, entered Champagne, and threatened the dutchy of Bourgogne: Fuentes penetrated into Picardy, dispersed the French army, carried Dourlens by storm, and obtained possession of the important city of Cambray. It was in vain that Henry called on Elizabeth for aid. She anticipated a second attempt at invasion on the part of Philip; recalled her troops from the defence of Bretagne;

and Stow, 768, relate the execution of Ferreira; though he appears to have been saved by the favour of Essex, whom he accompanied to Cadiz, and to whom he afterwards presented a memorial, to be seen in Birch, ii. 268.

[43] Compare Camden, 677, with a letter in Birch, Negociations, 15. The assassination of the prince of Orange, made the public more inclined to believe in charges of this description. It should, however, be remembered, that the prince had been condemned to death as a rebel; and that a reward was publicly offered to any one, who should either kill him or take him prisoner. See Philip's answer to the proposal, in Egerton, p. 11.

openly condemned herself of folly, in having expended so much money, and lost so many valuable lives in France; and, if at last she appeared to relent, she still demanded the previous possession of Calais, as a security or indemnity for the charges of the war. Henry rejected the proposal with scorn: but at the same time admonished her that he was unable to continue the war without aid; that his people clamorously demanded a peace; and that if she abandoned him in his necessities, he should be compelled to throw himself into the arms of Spain.[49]

The Spaniards take Calais.

The reports of the preparations in the harbours of the peninsula, had excited a general alarm throughout England. It was evident that the

[49] Consult the correspondence on this subject in Birch, Negociations, 26—36: and in Murdin, 701—734. Henry, to subdue her obstinacy, made a singular appeal to her vanity. Unton, the ambassador (probably the farce was concerted between them) wrote to her that one day the king asked him, how he liked his mistress, La belle Gabrielle. "I answered," says Unton, "sparingly in her "praise, and told him that, if without offence I might speak it, "I had a picture of a far more excellent mistress, and yet did her "picture come far short of her perfection of beauty." The reader will recollect that Elizabeth was only in her sixty-third year. Unton now shewed it to the king. "He beheld it with passion and "admiration: saying that I had reason: Je me rends: protesting "that he had never seen the like. He kissed it, took it from me, "vowing that he would not forego it for any treasure: and that to "possess the favour of the lively picture, he would foresake all the "world." They then began to talk upon business; "but I found," adds the ambassador, "that the dumb picture did draw on more "speech and affection from him, than all my best arguments and "eloquence." Murdin, 718, 719.

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failure of the first expedition had partly been owing to accident and the weather: a more favourable season might enable a second armada to land an army on the coast: and a contest between new levies, however brave, and a veteran force, inured to victory, could not be contemplated without apprehension for the result. Every precaution was taken: fortifications were erected: ships were commissioned: troops were levied in the different counties; and all recusants and suspected persons were compelled to deliver up their arms, and remove from free, as it was called, into close custody.[59] In the mean time the archduke Albert, cardinal of Austria, who had succeeded to the government of the Spanish Netherlands, under the pretence of raising the siege of La Fere, by a sudden and unexpected march, sat down with fifteen thousand men before Calais. The adjoining forts were won: the town itself, after an armistice of eight days, surrendered; and the garrison retiring into the citadel, maintained a brave but hopeless resistance. This unlooked-for event perplexed Elizabeth. She ordered the lord mayor to impress one thousand men as an immediate reinforcement; the next morning she revoked the order: the day after she renewed it. But the French envoys observed that the urgency of the case

1596. Feb. 1.

March 29.

April 9.

April 10.

April 11.

[59] "These Spanish preparations, I assure your lordship, doth "breed incredible fears in the mynds of most men." Sydney Papers, i. 355, 356.

admitted of no delay; a strong detachment might be sent from the army already embodied; or the English fleet might make its appearance at the mouth of the harbour. She interrupted them to ask, whether, if she preserved the place, Henry would put it, or Boulogne, into her hands. They replied, that they had no instructions on that head: and sir Robert Sydney had been already sent to make the proposal. But the king turning his back on the messenger, indignantly replied, that he would rather submit to a box on the ear from a man, than to a fillip from a woman.[51] In a few days the citadel was taken by storm; the French charged the queen with duplicity, in raising expectations which she had refused to fulfil: and Elizabeth herself beheld with regret the establishment of the Spaniards in a port which offered additional facilities to the invasion of England.[52]

April 12.

April 15.

To augment her disquietude, she had become acquainted with the failure of the expedition to the West Indies, lately undertaken by Hawkins and Drake. The Spanish settlements in the New World were no longer in that defenceless condition, in which they had formerly been found. Wherever the English landed, they were bravely opposed: if they inflicted injury, they

Failure of an expedition to the West Indies. 1595.

[51] "Qu'il aimoit mieux recevoir un soufflet du roy d'Espagne "qu'une chiquenaude d'elle." Du Vair, apud Egerton, 35.

[52] Camden, 719. Stow, 769. Birch, i. 463. 465. Daniel, xii. 244, and a great number of papers in Rymer, tom. xv.

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1596. Jan. April.

received equal injury in return: the two commanders died under the anxiety of their minds, and the rigour of the service; and the survivors returned without glory, and what, perhaps, was equally distressing to the queen, without plunder to repay the expenses of the expedition.[53]

A new expedition against Spain.

March 18.

For some weeks the defence of the realm had been the subject of daily deliberation in the council. Howard of Effingham, the lord admiral, urged the same measure which he had proposed on the former occasion, to anticipate the design of the enemy by sending out an expedition to destroy his ports, shipping and magazines. He was powerfully seconded by Essex, who despised the cautious policy of Burleigh, and by his influence, after a long struggle, obtained the consent of the queen. She gave him the command of the land, while the lord admiral held that of the naval, force: but to restrain his impetuosity, he was ordered to ask the advice of a council of war, and to be guided by the opinion of the majority. The members were, besides the two commanders in chief, the lord Thomas Howard, and sir Walter Raleigh for the naval, sir Francis Vere, sir George Carew, and sir Coniers Clifford for the land service.[54]

[53] Camden, 699—701.

[54] Camden, 721. Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1591, had debauched Elizabeth Throckmorton, one of the maids of honour, and for this offence was, in July following, committed to the custody of sir G. Carew. From the window he saw the queen's barge on the Thames,

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Naval victory at Cadiz.

After much irresolution, and considerable delay, occasioned partly by the disguised opposition of the Cecils, and partly by the inconstant humour of the queen, the expedition left the harbour of Plymouth. By the junction of twenty-two ships from Holland, it amounted to one hundred and fifty sail, and carried fourteen thousand men, of whom fifteen hundred were gentlemen volunteers.[55] At the end of three

June 1.

and pretended to become frantic at the sight. He suffered, he said, all the horrors of Tantalus: he would go on the water and see his mistress. Sir George interfered; a struggle ensued; their periwigs were torn off, and both drew their daggers before they were parted. See a letter of July 26, in the new edition of Shakespeare, app. 577. and Cayley's Raleigh, i. 124. As this adventure did not move the queen, he had recourse to another expedient. She was going on her progress. "How," he asked, "could he live alone in prison, while "she was afar off? He was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, "hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing "her fair hair about her pure cheeks like a nymph, sometimes sitting "in the shade like a goddess, sometimes singing like an angel, some-"times playing like Orpheus. But once amiss had bereaved him of "all." He then exclaims, "All those times past, the loves, the sighs, "the sorrows, the desires, can they not weigh down one frail misfor-"tune! Cannot one drop of gall be hidden under such heaps of sweet-"ness!" (Letter to Cecil in Murdin, 657). But this flattery did not atone for his presumption or infidelity. He was confined in the Tower two months, and at his discharge forbidden to come near the court; nor could he, till after his return from the expedition to Cadiz, obtain leave to resume his office of captain of the guard. Camden, 697. Birch, ii. 345.

[55] The queen composed two prayers, one for her own use, the other to be daily used in the fleet during the expedition (Camden, 721). The former may be seen in Birch, ii. 18. with a letter to Essex, from Sir Robert Cecil, who observes, "No prayer is so fruitful as "that which proceedeth from those, who nearest in nature and "power approach the Almighty. None so near approach his

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weeks, the fleet cast anchor at the mouth of the haven of Cadiz, in which were discovered fifteen men of war, and about forty merchantmen. At seven the next morning, the English, in defiance of the fire from the forts and batteries, entered the harbour: the Spaniards met their foes with determined courage; and for six hours the action was maintained on both sides with equal obstinacy. But about one in the afternoon the enemy attempted to run their ships ashore, and set them on fire. Two of the largest, the St. Matthew and St. Andrew, with an argosy, were taken: the gallies effected their escape by sea; and the merchantmen, that had proceeded to Port Royal during the action, having discharged their cargoes, were burnt by order of the duke of Medina Sidonia.

June 20.

June 21.

Surrender of the city.

Within an hour from the termination of the engagement by sea, the earl of Essex, with his wonted promptitude, had landed fifteen hundred men at Puntal, and marched in the direction of the city. A small body of horse and foot threatened opposition: but they fell back as he advanced; and finding the gates shut against them, made their way over a ruinous part of the wall. Essex followed at their heels: the enemy kept

"place and essence, as a celestial mind in a princely body. Put "forth, therefore, my lord, with comfort and confidence, having "your sails filled with her heavenly breath for your forewind." Ibid. Lord Burleigh also composed a prayer, and printed it for the use of the public. It is in Strype, iv. 262.

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up a destructive fire from the houses: but he advanced as far as the market-place, where he was joined by the lord admiral and another party that had entered by a portal. Resistance was now at an end: and early the next morning a capitulation was signed, by which the inhabitants paid a ransom of 120,000 crowns for their lives; and the town, the merchandise, and every kind of property, were abandoned to the rapacity of the conquerors. June 22.

Return of the expedition.

The commanders met in council to deliberate on their future proceedings. Essex proposed to march with the army into the heart of Andalusia; and when that was rejected, offered to remain in the isle with 3000 men, and to defend it against all the power of the enemy. There was, in both of these plans, less of real than of apparent danger. The realm had been drained of all its disciplined forces: the nobles were discontented at their exclusion from the offices of the government: the people in several provinces had manifested a disposition to revolt: and the Moriscoes would have cheerfully joined the banners of the strangers.[56] But the majority of the council opposed every suggestion offered by the earl: the town, with the exception of the churches, was reduced to ashes: and the troops

[56] Hawkins from Venice, Aug. 20th, apud Birch, ii. 112. Letters d'Ossat, i. 301.

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taking with them the most valuable portion of the plunder, re-embarked. At sea the same dissension prevailed among the leaders; and after many altercations, and two unimportant descents on the Spanish coast, the fleet returned

Aug. 7. to Plymouth in less than ten weeks from its departure.[57]

Never before had the Spanish monarch received so severe a blow. He lost thirteen men of war, and immense magazines of provisions and naval stores: the defences of Cadiz, the strongest fortress in his dominions, had been razed to the ground; and the secret of his weakness at home had been revealed to the world, at the same time that the power of England had been raised in the eyes of the European nations. Even those who wished well to Spain, allotted the praise of moderation and humanity to the English commanders, who had suffered no blood to be wantonly spilt, no woman to be defiled; but had sent under an escort the nuns and females, about three thousand in number,

July 23. to the port of St. Mary, and had allowed them to carry away their jewels and wearing apparel. But while foreigners applauded the conquerors, while their countrymen hailed their return with

[57] We have several accounts from different persons employed in the expedition, in Birch, ii. 46—58. See also Camden, 720.—728. Stow, 770.—776. Strype, iv. 286—288. Cayley, i. 272.

shouts of triumph, they experienced from their sovereign a cold and ungracious reception.[58]

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Discontent of the queen.

From the first introduction of Essex at court, Burleigh had looked on him with a jealous eye. Age and infirmity admonished that statesman that it was time for him to retire; and he naturally sought to bequeath his place and his influence in the council, to his son sir Robert Cecil. Aware that Essex might prove a dangerous competitor, he maintained towards him the external forms of friendship, while he secretly endeavoured to undermine his influence: and the queen, perhaps to shew that she was not governed by her young favourite, often listened to the suggestions of his opponent; and though she generally granted his petitions for himself, uniformly refused the favours, which he solicited for his dependants. In 1590 Walsingham died: to supply his place Burleigh proposed his son Robert; Essex, first the unfortunate Davison, and afterwards sir Thomas Bodley. Elizabeth, under the pretence of preserving peace between the parties, refused to make any appointment: but desired Burleigh to take the office provisionally on himself, and at his request allowed him to employ his son as an assistant. The object of "the old fox" (so Essex was accustomed to call him), was manifest: yet for

[58] Birch, ii. 125. Strype, iv. 287. They must, however, share this praise with the queen, who had quickly bound them to such conduct by her instructions. Camden, 721.

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six years the earl had sufficient credit to retard the appointment of sir Robert. As soon, however, as the late expedition sailed, Elizabeth signed a warrant in his favour; and the courtiers, predicting the ascendency of the Cecils, sought to instil into the royal ear suspicions and misgivings, respecting the conduct of the absent favourite. His gallantries and debaucheries, his presumption and obstinacy, his extravagance and irritability, were exaggerated, and hypocritically lamented. They made light of the capture of Cadiz. It was a cheap and easy conquest; the only resistance had been made by sea; and there the whole merit of the success belonged to sir Walter Raleigh. How far they might have persuaded the queen, is uncertain; but when she learned that the plunder, instead of being preserved for the treasury, had been divided among the adventurers, her avarice convinced her of the misconduct of Essex, and she was heard to declare that, if she had hitherto done his pleasure, she would now teach him to do hers.[59]

July 5.

Defence of Essex.

On their return to Plymouth, the two commanders in chief received an extraordinary message. The expedition, they were told, had already cost the queen fifty thousand pounds: *she* would be at no further expense: it was for *them*, who knew what was become of the plunder, to provide funds for the payment of the mariners

[59] Birch, ii. 96. 100. Sidney papers, i. 348.

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and soldiers.[60] The earl immediately hastened to court; but, aware of the unfavourable reports made to the queen, he assumed a new character, that of a saint. He was no longer the gay and voluptuous Essex. He became grave and sedate: those who had been scandalized by the publicity of his amours, were surprised at the attentions which he exclusively lavished on his countess; and his constant appearance at church, his devout demeanour at sermons and prayers, edified, perhaps amused, his former companions.[61] The queen reluctantly betrayed her satisfaction at the return of her favourite: but she obstinately refused to listen to his justification in private. He was compelled, day after day, to appear before her in council, and to answer to every article. He contended that he and his colleague had done whatever it was in their power to do; that they had brought home for the queen two galleons, and more than one hundred pieces of brass ordnance: that, if she had not received her share of the plunder, she must look for indemnification to the commissioners appointed by the lord treasurer, who, though often admonished, had neglected to perform their duty:[62] and that for himself, he had, on every occasion, been thwarted by his colleagues in the council, the creatures of the Cecils, who had even opposed his proposal to Aug. 11.

[60] Birch, ii. 93.
[61] Ibid. 116. 122.
[62] Ibid. 131, 141.

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sail to Tercera, and intercept the treasure of the Spanish king on its way from the Indies. While the cause was yet pending, advice was received that this fleet, with twenty millions of dollars on board, had arrived in the ports of Spain. The queen's indignation was instantly pointed against his adversaries and their patrons: every man hastened to seek a reconciliation with the accused; and even Burleigh himself, who had formerly suggested to Elizabeth, that the ransom paid by the inhabitants belonged to the crown, now supported Essex in opposition to her claim. The apostacy of the treasurer threw the queen into a paroxysm of rage: she called him "a miscreant and a coward, more afraid of "Essex than of herself," and poured on him such a torrent of abuse, that he retired home in despair, and talked "of obtaining licence "to live as an anchorite, as fittest for his age, "his infirmities, and his declining influence at "court."[63]

Sept. 4.

Sept. 22.

His quarrels with the queen.

It would weary the patience of the reader to attend to the continual dissensions between these rival statesmen. The queen preferred sir Robert Cecil as a man of business, Essex as an agreeable companion. The former was industrious and intelligent, a master in the art of flattery, and always ready to sacrifice his own opinion to the superior, or, as he termed it,

[63] Birch, 146—148. "He hath made the old fox to crouch and "whine." Ibid. 153.

" the divine judgment of his sovereign."[64] But Essex was petulant and obstinate: when he could not prevail by argument or entreaty, he reproached the queen with unkindness, retired from the court, and confined himself to his bed, under pretence of indisposition: and though Elizabeth repeatedly resolved to break his spirit, she as repeatedly submitted to his pleasure, under the idle fear of breaking his heart. There was, moreover, another point, in which he was in danger of forfeiting the royal favour. The world refused him credit for that superior sanctity, which he affected: and the scandal of the court had marked him out, perhaps unjustly, for the favoured lover of a married lady of high rank.[65] With the reputation of other women the queen had little concern: but to watch over the conduct of the young females employed about her person, was a duty which she owed both to herself and to their parents. Among her maids of honour was a lady, called Bridges, to whom the palm of superior beauty had been assigned by common consent. She quickly attracted the notice of Essex: his attentions flattered her vanity, perhaps won her affections: and the tale of her indiscretion was soon whispered in the royal ear. Elizabeth sent for Bridges, with her companion Russel; convinced

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Dec. 1.

[64] Birch, Negociations, 152.

[65] See lady Bacon's letter to him on his "backsliding," and his answer, Ibid. 218—220.

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the culprit of her displeasure by the infliction of manual chastisement, and ordered both to be discharged with ignominy from her service. For three nights the house of lady Stafford afforded them an asylum: at length, having asked pardon, and promised amendment, they were restored to favour.[66]

New league with France.

The French king, conceiving that Elizabeth's indifference to his wants, arose from a suspicion that he was disposed to make common cause with the catholic powers, ordered De Bouillon to join Sanci, and to propose to her a general league of the protestant princes against the king of Spain. Two treaties were signed. The first, which was made public, proved a mere fiction, intended to give reputation to the confederacy:[67]

1596. Aug. 29.

the second, which was secret, cut down the provisions of the first, and merely bound the queen to send 2000 men for six months into Picardy, as reinforcements for the garrisons of Boulogne and Montreuil. The Hollanders acted with more spirit: they paid 4000 men in the French army, and offered an aid of 8000 more. In addition, all the three powers agreed to solicit the co-operation of the German princes, and to hold a general congress for that purpose. But

[66] The cause of the queen's displeasure was given out to be "their taking of physic, and one day going privately through the "privy galleries to see the playing at ballon." Sydney papers, ii. 38.

[67] It is in Camden, 730.

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Henry alone fulfilled his engagements: the attention of Elizabeth was absorbed by events more nearly connected with her own safety. For some years Philip had appeared to sleep over the war with England: the blow received at Cadiz had awakened him from his apathy. He publicly vowed to be revenged; the fleet from the Indies had replenished his treasury; his people offered him an abundant supply of money; and he ordered the adelantado of Castile to prepare a second armada for the invasion of England. He even indulged a hope, that if success attended the expedition, his daughter, the infanta of Spain, might be placed on the English throne.[68]

1797. May.

Projects in favour of a Spanish successor.

To understand this visionary project, the reader must go back to the divisions, which prevailed among the catholic exiles previously to the death of Mary Stuart. The fate of that princess, which was certainly, though unintentionally, occasioned by the vindictive intrigues of Morgan, Paget, and their associates, confirmed the ascendant which their adversaries had already acquired in the different catholic courts. They however did not yield without a struggle. They loudly complained that the ambition of the jesuits had monopolized the business of the nation; they maintained that secular affairs did not belong to religious bodies;

[68] Padilla's commission is in Strype, iv. 316.

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they sent agents of their own to most of the catholic princes; they sought to undermine the influence of Persons at the court of Madrid, to prevent the promotion of Allen, and afterwards to balance his influence by procuring a cardinal's hat for their own associate Lewis, bishop of Cassano.[69] But every plan was defeated by the superior address or superior influence of their opponents, who were distinguished by the appellation of the Spanish party. Allen was its nominal, Persons its effective head: their principal associates were the jesuits Cresswell and Holt, sir Francis Englefield, sir Francis Stanley, Owen, and Fitzherbert. The great object of the party was the restoration of the catholic worship in England under the sway of a catholic sovereign, whom both gratitude and interest induced them to seek in the royal house of Spain. The jealousy of Elizabeth and the prohibitory statute had closed the mouths of men, with respect to the succession:[70] it was highly probable that at her death a number of competitors

[69] Persons, Briefe Apology, 5, 6. 31. 36.

[70] "A law being made that no man, under pain of treason, "should talke or reason of the next successor to the crowne, so "great an ignorance grew thereby into the people's heades and "heartes, of that thing which most of all (next after God) imported "them to know, and which one day must be tryed by the utter- "most adventure of goods, life, and soule, as it seemed most need- "ful to prevent in part so great a mischief, and to let them see and "heare at least, what and how many there were, that did or might "pretend to the same." Persons to the earl of Angus, apud Plowden, Remarks on Memoirs of Pannzani, 357.

would start for the throne: and the exiles in general entertained an opinion that Burleigh would support, with all his influence, the claim of Arabella Stuart, to whose hand his son, sir Robert Cecil, already aspired. To defeat this supposed purpose, to awaken the public attention, and to prepare the way for the daughter of Philip, they published the celebrated tract, entitled, "A Conference about the next Succession "to the Crown of England, had in 1593, by "R. Doleman."[71] This work, the production of different pens, was revised and edited by Persons. In the first part, it undertakes to prove that as the right of succession is regulated not by divine, but by positive laws, which are not immutable, but must vary with circumstances, the profession of a false religion is in all cases a sufficient bar against propinquity of blood: in the second it enumerates the different persons, who, on account of their descent from the royal family of England, may advance any pretensions to the crown after the death of the queen: but, though it professes to state all the arguments for and against their respective claims with the most perfect impartiality, it continually betrays

[71] The book was dedicated to the earl of Essex, with such praise of his many virtues, that the jealousy of the queen was excited. What passed between them on the subject is not known: but on the 3d of November it was observed that when he left her, he looked pale and pensive. On his arrival at his own house, he seemed much indisposed: and, though the queen visited him the next day, kept his bed till the 12th. Sydney papers, i. 157. 159.

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a strong leaning towards the pretended right of the infanta, as the lineal representative of John of Ghent, son of Edward III.[72] This tract excited an extraordinary sensation both in England and on the continent: it alarmed and irritated the queen and her ministers; and it flattered the pride of Philip, who, at the persuasion of Persons, had consented to renounce his own pretensions, with the vain hope of seeing his daughter seated on the English throne. He offered the command of the expedition to the adelantado of Castile, who proposed and obtained his own terms; an emissary hastened to England to sound the disposition of the earl of Essex: and the exiles, in their secret councils, formed different plans to promote the success of the projected invasion, and to facilitate the accession of their imaginary queen.[73]

Expedition against Spain.

But the preparations of Philip, and the views of the party, were carefully communicated to the English council by secret agents in the Spanish court. After some struggle, the economy of Elizabeth yielded to her fears, and the remonstrances of her advisers. She consented that a powerful armament should be fitted out for the destruction of the Spanish fleet: and gave the command to Essex, with the lord Thomas Howard, and sir Walter Raleigh for his seconds. On his arrival at Ply-

[72] Camden, 672. [73] Birch, i. 304. 321. ii. 307.

mouth he found a fleet of 140 sail, and an army of 8000 soldiers waiting his command. He was no longer fettered with a council of war; the Cecils, he persuaded himself, had become his friends; and he saw nothing before him but a harvest of victory and glory. Unfortunately the weather was adverse: his impatience lamented the delay: the queen's parsimony, the additional expense. To remove the cause, both had recourse to prayer: the wind came round to the north-east; and the humility of Elizabeth attributed the change to the more fervent devotion of her favourite.[74]

Dispersed by a storm. July 9.

But Essex was destined to experience nothing but misfortune in this expedition. The fleet had not proceeded more than forty leagues, when it was driven back to port by a storm, which continued four days. With his usual obstinacy the earl contended against the winds and waves, till his ship was a mere wreck. The gentlemen volunteers, who accompanied him, had seen enough

[74] Letter of Knollys in Birch, ii. 351. She published her prayer for the use of her people. It is in that quaint obscure style which she affected, and, to be understood by the majority of her subjects, ought to have been translated into ordinary language. It begins thus: "Oh God, almaker, keeper and guider, inurement of "thy rare-seen, unused, and seeld-heard-of goodness, poured in so "plentiful sort upon us full oft, breeds now this boldness to crave "thy large hand of helping power, to assist with wonder our just "cause, not founded on pride's motion, or begun on malice-stock," &c. Apud Strype, iv. 316.

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of the naval service: on his return to Plymouth most of them stole away to their homes.[75]

A Spanish fleet in the channel.

Aug. 17.

To have refitted the fleet would have been to incur an expense, to which the queen would not submit. Essex sailed again, but with a smaller force, and on a different destination. He reached the Azores: Fayal, Graciosa, and Flores, submitted: but the Spanish fleet from the Indies, the real object of the expedition, escaped into the harbour of Tercera: and the English, with four inconsiderable prizes, and some plunder, directed their course to their own shores.[76] At the same time the adelantado sailed from Ferrol with the intention of obtaining possession of the Isle of Wight, or of some strong post on the shore of Cornwall, which might be garrisoned and kept till the following spring, the season selected for the grand attempt. The two fleets, though at no great distance, proceeded in the

[75] Camden, 738. Sydney papers, 57. "I beat it up till my ship "was falling asunder, having a leak, that we pumped eight tuns "of water a day out of her: her main and foremasts cracked, and "most of her beams broken and reft, besides the opening of all her "seams." Birch, ii. 357.

[76] Camden, 740—744. Stow, 783. Apology of the Earl of Essex, 15—19. Raleigh had attacked and taken Fayal without orders. This had been forbidden under pain of death. Essex, who deemed the honour stolen from himself, received him with expressions of anger, and ordered several officers to be put under arrest. When he was advised to bring Raleigh to a court martial, "I would," he replied, "had he been one of my friends." The quarrel was hushed by the good of offices lord Thomas Howard. Camden, 741. Vere's Commentaries, 51. Sydney Papers, 74.

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the same direction, unknown to each other. When Essex entered the harbour of Plymouth, the Spaniards were off the Lizard point: and while he refitted his ships, the enemy scoured the channel, insulted different parts of the coast, and kept the maritime counties in a state of alarm. Elizabeth ordered forces to be raised, sent for the two thousand men serving in France; and summoned the lords to the defence of her person. But the Spaniard dared not attempt to land. After a week or two he shaped his course back to the Spanish coast, and in his return lost by a storm sixteen sail in the Bay of Biscay.[77] Oct. 16.

New quarrels between the queen and Essex.

From Plymouth the earl proceeded to court; and was received by Elizabeth with frowns and reproaches. He had done nothing to repay the expenses of the expedition: but had wasted her treasure, had disobeyed his instructions, and had insulted and oppressed sir Walter Raleigh. He retired in discontent to his house at Wanstead, and for several weeks the business of the nation was interrupted by his complaints on the one hand, and the ineffectual attempts of his sovereign to pacify him on the other. She condescended to acknowledge that every charge against him was unfounded: but he was not content. He demanded satisfaction for the imaginary wrongs which had been done to him

[77] Sydney papers, ii. 72—74. Camden, 744.

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during his absence. The chancellorship of the dutchy of Lancaster, which he expected for one of his dependants, had been given to sir Robert Cecil; the lord admiral had been created earl of Nottingham, and thus advanced by reason of his office to precedency above him: and the praise of the capture of Cadiz, which belonged to himself, was in the patent of creation attributed to the new earl. In his waywardness he offered to fight with that nobleman, or with any one of his sons, or with any gentleman of the name of Howard. At the queen's request the Cecils and sir Walter Raleigh laboured to pacify this froward child; after a long negociation he accepted as an indemnity the appointment of earl marshal, because that office would give him precedence of the lord admiral. Nottingham immediately retired from court.[73]

Oct. 8.
Oct. 23.
Dec. 18.
Dec. 20.

Henry proposes a peace with Spain.

The anxiety of the Cecils to satisfy Essex was occasioned by a communication from the king of France. That prince sighed after peace. For thirteen years the realm had been torn by domestic and foreign wars: and though the league of the catholics was extinguished, another on the same principle had recently been formed by the protestants. With peace abroad he might be able to guide the two parties at home: with war he foresaw that his kingdom must still be ravaged by religious dissension. He readily

[73] Vere, 66. Sydney papers, 70. 74. 75. 77. Birch, ii. 365. Camden, 746.

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accepted the mediation of the pope, and informed Elizabeth and the states, that without more powerful aid than they appeared willing to furnish, he would be necessitated to conclude a peace; that Philip had expressed a readiness to restore all the Spanish conquests; and that, at his request, powers had been transmitted to the archduke to treat not only with France, but with its allies.[79] The queen received the intelligence with displeasure, and appointed sir Robert Cecil ambassador extraordinary to the French court. But that minister, aware from experience of the advantage to be derived from the absence of a rival, was unwilling to depart, as long as Essex remained his enemy. It was therefore to win the friendship of the earl, that he had proposed to give him the staff of earl marshal: to which he afterwards added a present of cochineal to the value of seven thousand pounds; and a contract for the sale of a much larger quantity out of the royal stores, by which he was likely to realize six times that sum. The earl knew that he owed the queen's liberality to the advice of the Cecils: he became their friend; he transacted the business of secretary for sir Robert, and faithfully watched over his interests during his absence.[80]

1598. Jan. 21.

Feb. 10.

[79] Villeroy's report apud Egerton, 33, 34.

[80] "He hath given good security to pay the queen 50,000*l.* at 18*s.* "the pound for the cochineal; here it is sold for 30*s.* and sometimes "40*s.*"—Sydney papers, 83. See p. 89. for their friendship. The

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It is concluded. March.

After much intentional delay, the English ambassador was joined by the Dutch deputies at Angers: and both employed every expedient to divert the French monarch from the conclusion of peace. The Hollanders urged the continuance of the war: Cecil had no proposals to offer: he came, so he pretended, for the sole purpose of ascertaining the sincerity of the Spanish ministers: all he could do was, to return to England, and consult his sovereign; and for that purpose it was requisite that the conferences should be suspended for the space of some months. On the refusal of the king, he united with the allies in holding out the most tempting offers of aid both in men and money, on condition that Henry should bind himself not to desert the confederacy; but finding him inexorable, they had recourse to insinuations and reproaches; they charged him with ingratitude to the queen; they told him that on future occasions of distress he must not expect assistance from England. Henry heard them with patience. He acknowledged his obligations to Elizabeth, which he would never forget, though he knew that by aiding him, she had protected herself. But he owed a duty to his people, from

writer adds, "Yt is spied out by envy that the earle is again fallen in "love with his fairest Bridges. Yt cannot chuse but come to the "queen's ears; then he is undone, and all that depend on his fa-"vour... the countess of Essex suspects yt, and is greatly disquiet." Ibid. 90. How he escaped being undone, I know not.

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which gratitude to others could not excuse him. Peace was necessary to France; and peace, if it could be obtained, he was determined to have [81] Sir Robert returned, discontented with the result of his commission. Henry soon afterwards published the edict of Nantes, by which he secured to the protestants every privilege which they could reasonably demand; though he forbade that of holding assemblies, and making laws for their own security: and a few days afterwards he signed a treaty with Spain, by which he recovered Calais, and every place that had been severed from France during the war. The rest of his reign he spent in healing the wounds which had been inflicted on the country by religious fanaticism, and private ambition: and his conduct deserved and obtained for him the love of his subjects, and the veneration of posterity.

April 15. April 20. April 22.

Dispute in the English cabinet.

During the negociation between the French and Spanish ministers at Vervins, Philip had repeatedly signified his readiness to treat with the queen of England. The question was afterwards warmly discussed in the cabinet. Essex argued with his usual violence in favour of war: the Cecils contended as earnestly for peace. On one occasion the lord treasurer, putting the book of psalms into the hands of the earl, pointed in

[81] Birch, ii. 374—379. Villeroy's report, Egerton, 34, 35. Birch's Negociations, Camden, 759—763. Burleigh's instructions respecting the treaty are in Strype, iv. 324.

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silence to the verse, *Blood-thirsty men shall not live out half their days.* On Essex himself it made no impression: by the superstitious it was afterwards considered as a prediction of his subsequent fate. The queen, as usual, listened to both parties, but came to no decision.[82]

Essex receives a blow from the queen.

There was another question of equal interest, which divided the cabinet. In Ireland almost the whole population, whether of Irish or English origin, was leagued in open or clandestine hostility against the English government. The office of deputy was dreaded as full of difficulty and danger. The queen, by the advice of the Cecils, wished to give it to sir William Knollys, the earl's uncle: Essex insisted that it should be conferred on sir George Carew, one of his opponents. During the debate, Elizabeth addressed him in sarcastic language: he replied by turning his back with an expression of contempt. The queen, no longer mistress of her passion, struck him a violent blow on the ear, adding at the same time, that "he might go to "the d . . . l." Essex instantly grasped his sword; but the lord admiral interposed; and the earl, bursting out of the room, exclaimed, that he would not have taken such an insult from her father, much less would he bear it from a king in petticoats.[83]

June.

War was now openly declared; and the court,

[82] Camden, 765—771.

[83] Id. 772.

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and the whole nation, looked forward with curiosity to the result. Both were equally obstinate; Essex demanding satisfaction for the blow, Elizabeth an apology for his presumption. The months of July and August passed without any advance on either side. In September, the earl was, or pretended to be, seriously indisposed: but the queen, though she seemed to relent during his danger, relapsed into her former obstinacy with his recovery. His friends conjured him to make "submission" to his sovereign. Egerton, the lord keeper, wrote him a long letter of advice, to which he replied by one still longer, expressive of his determination to resist and to abide the consequences. Yet, contrary to the predictions of the courtiers, a reconciliation was effected, and within a fortnight he returned to court. To the public he appeared again in favour: but in the heart of Elizabeth love had yielded the place to hatred: from that moment she gave the reins to his temerity and ambition, and allowed him to run forward to his own destruction.[84]

They are apparently reconciled.

Oct. 15.

Oct. 18.

Nov. 6.

During these domestic quarrels a new treaty was concluded with the states, who, alarmed by the inclination for peace manifested by the Cecils, acknowledged a debt of 800,000l. due by them to the queen, and bound themselves to reduce it yearly by the payment of certain in-

Aug. 6.

[84] Id. ibid. Birch, 385—393. Cabala, 231.

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Aug. 4.

stalments. Before the conclusion of this treaty, lord Burleigh died, and his loss was bewailed by Elizabeth with tears. On the other hand she was consoled by the death of her inveterate enemy Philip of Spain, who having previously given his daughter Isabella in marriage to the archduke Albert, with the Netherlands and his rights in Burgundy for her portion, expired in his seventy-first year. He was succeeded by his son Philip III., a prince far inferior in ability to his father.[85]

Execution of Squires.

Among those who had followed Essex to Tercera was a private soldier, named Squires, lately returned from a prison in Spain. Soon after the troops were disbanded, one Stanley, recently returned from Spain, accused Squires, before the earl of Essex and sir Robert Cecil, of a design to poison the queen. At first he loudly maintained his innocence, but, when he had been five hours on the rack, he confessed that at Seville, Walpole, a jesuit, had solicited him to commit the crime, had furnished him for that purpose with a most powerful poison, and had instructed him in the manner of employing it: and that on his return to England he had rubbed part of the poison into the pommel of the saddle on which the queen rode, and the other part

[85] Camden, 776. 778. By this treaty the queen was freed from the charge of 126,000l. per annum for her garrisons in the cautionary towns.

into the chair in which Essex was accustomed to sit, with the expectation that in both cases it would have produced death. It is difficult to conceive a more ridiculous or incredible tale: yet it brought the unhappy man to the scaffold. At his trial one of the counsel for the crown, sir Edward Coke, represented with great pathos the danger of Elizabeth: but his feelings grew too big for utterance; he burst into a flood of tears, and was compelled to sit down. The next who rose, was more successful. His task was to describe her wonderful escape from the venom on the saddle. It was as evidently a miracle, as any recorded in holy writ: "For albeit the "season was hot, and the veins open to receive "any maligne tainture, yet her body felt no dis-"temperature, nor her hand no more hurt than "Paul's did when he shook off the viper into "the fire." The prisoner in his defence said, that while he was on the rack, he had confessed any thing, which he thought would satisfy the commissioners and relieve him from torture: the truth was, that Walpole had proposed the murder to him, but that he had never consented to it, nor ever employed poison for that purpose. Here one of the judges informed him, that on his own shewing he had been guilty of concealment of treason: and sir Robert Cecil prevailed on him once more to confess the charge. He received judgment, and suffered the punishment of a traitor; but died asserting both his own Nov. 23.

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innocence, and that of Walpole, with his last breath.[86]

Perplexity of the king of Scotland.

Before I conclude this chapter, I may advert to the conduct of the king of Scotland in the novel and extraordinary situation in which he found himself placed by the death of Mary, and the caprice or policy of Elizabeth. On the one hand the English queen had not fulfilled any of the promises, made to him during the year 1588. She refused to admit his right to the succession; she excluded him from the inheritance of his father in England; she interfered in the internal concerns of his kingdom, intrigued with his subjects, and gave support to his rebels. She continued to treat him as she had treated Mary, though he had not given offence either by the assumption of her title, or by the profession of a hostile faith. By James her unkindness was attributed to the malice and influence of the Cecils, who having brought his mother to the block, feared that he might avenge her blood on their heads, if ever he should ascend the throne. In their hands was his chief competitor Arabella

[86] Camden, 779, and Speed, 1183. On this extraordinary plot see note (G G) at the end. It would appear that Squires and Stanley were both impostors. When Stanley was asked, why he had accused Squires, he replied that the Spanish ministers, supposing that the assassin had deceived them, had, through revenge, hired him to give information of the treason. He was then put on the rack, and made to confess that he himself had been sent by Christoval de Mora to shoot the queen. See Cecil's letter in Birch, Negociations, 184, 185.

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Stuart, whose claim they might at any moment set up in opposition to his own. He proposed to marry her to the duke of Lennox, and to acknowledge that nobleman his presumptive heir. But Elizabeth refused: and the refusal added to the distrust and perplexity of the Scottish king.[87]

On the other hand James had equal reason to fear the hostility of the catholic powers, the ambition of Philip, and the intrigues of the Spanish faction both at home and abroad. By all these he was charged with pusillanimity for his tame acquiescence in the murder of his mother, with apostacy on account of his preference of the reformed doctrines to the faith of his fathers. To have betrayed the least partiality towards that faith would, by uniting against him the protestants of both kingdoms, infallibly have extinguished his hopes: at the same time to provoke the hostility of the catholics, was to involve himself in difficulty and danger. They formed in England and Scotland a numerous and powerful party: and the knowledge that his mother had left her right to the succession to the disposal of the pope and the king of Spain, unless her son should embrace the catholic faith, would tend to loosen their attachment to the Scottish line. The bequest itself was, indeed,

[87] Winwood, i. 4. Birch, i. 84. Bartoli, 418. Strype, iv. 102. 106. Father Gordon had formed a plot to get her out of England. Birch, ii. 307. Strype, iv. 102.

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devoid of force: but he was aware that in the event of invasion, or during the expected struggle for the crown after the death of Elizabeth, it might be brought forward in opposition to his claim, and would probably produce a strong sensation in favour of his competitor.

His plan of conduct.

It has been thought that James in these circumstances formed no fixed plan of conduct, but allowed himself to be carried along by the current of events, without any compass by which he might guide, or any certain point to which he might direct, his course. To me, however, he seems to have pursued uniformly the same policy: distrusting equally the English queen and the catholic powers; and seeking equally to propitiate them both. To both he made similar promises of friendship: from both he solicited pecuniary aid: and, if either objected to him his connexion with the other, he always pleaded in his defence the hard necessity to which he was reduced.

After the death of Mary the earls of Huntley, Angus, Errol, and other catholic lords, treated on several occasions with the pope and the Spanish court, through the agency of the Scottish jesuits Gordon, Tyrie, and Creighton. Their object was to revenge, with the aid of Philip, the execution of their queen, and to obtain, if not the re-establishment, at least the toleration, of the catholic worship in Scotland: but on condition that the independence and liberties of the

realm should be preserved, that no ecclesiastical censure should be issued against James, and that his right to the English crown should remain unimpaired. Their intrigues were often discovered by the English agents abroad, and as often communicated by Elizabeth to the king. He always expressed the highest indignation against the earls: but his deeds did not correspond with his threats: years elapsed, repeated embassies were sent, and the kirk remonstrated and threatened, before James could be persuaded to punish the conspirators. At length they were compelled to leave Scotland: but even then he would not permit the sentence of forfeiture to be executed against them. His apathy scandalized the zealots, and irritated Elizabeth: but it may be satisfactorily explained, if we believe the assertions of the earls, that they acted sometimes with his permission, often with his connivance; and that he was unwilling to destroy a party, the existence of which was necessary to preserve him from falling under the absolute control of the English queen, and of her adherents in the kirk and state.[88]

[88] Camden, 656. 669. Winwood, i. 11. 13. Rymer, xvi. 190—199. et seq. Birch, i. 109. 215. 216. Strype, iv. 110. They found that James was so pusillanimous, that he always deserted them, when it came to the trial. "Rex est pusillanimus," says Creighton in a letter to Tyrie, Dec. 14, 1594, "et quamvis tempore pacifico "sit bonus, tamen in talibus tempestatibus est animo prorsus con- "sternato."

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His negociations in Italy and Spain.

The publication of "the conference respecting the succession" had excited new alarms in the mind of James. The doctrine that the profession of heresy was a sufficient ground of exclusion, was evidently pointed against him: and the preference given to the pretensions of the infanta of Spain, shewed that it was intended to set her up for his rival. He appointed Ogilvy, a catholic baron, his envoy to the catholic powers. At Venice, Florence and Rome, Ogilvy contented himself with asserting that his sovereign was ready, in imitation of the king of France, to study the catholic faith; and with pointing out the dangers, which threatened the liberties of Europe, if Philip were permitted to annex England to his extensive dominions.[39] In Spain he adopted another course, and attempted to negociate a most important treaty with the ministers of the catholic king. He represented James as actuated with the desire of revenging the injuries offered to him by the queen of England; promised in his name that he would declare war against her, would embrace the catholic faith, would re-establish it within his dominions, would supply Philip with a levy of ten thousand Scottish mercenaries, and would send, as a pledge of his sincerity, his son to be educated

1595. Nov. 1596. Jan. Feb.

May and June.

[39] See D'Ossat, Lettres, i. 221—224. The duke of Sessa's account of these negociations was intercepted (ibid. 293): and having been forwarded to England, has been published by Birch, i. 407—418.

in the Spanish court; on condition that the king should not pretend for himself, or for any other in his right, to the succession to the English crown; should grant to James a subsidy of 500,000 ducats to begin the war; and should aid him with an army of 12,000 men. But it had been observed that, on his arrival in Flanders, the envoy had consulted with Paget and his friends, known among the exiles by the name of the politicians: and this circumstance, exciting the suspicion of the opposite party, induced them to oppose his endeavours in the Spanish court. They disputed the authenticity of his credentials; threw doubts on his religion and his veracity; and declared that James had on so many occasions deceived the catholic lords and catholic sovereigns, that no reliance was to be placed on his words. In conclusion Philip dismissed the envoy with expressions of good will towards his sovereign, and with a valuable present for himself.[90]

James, however, was not discouraged. He was aware that the Spanish party, in furtherance of their design, had urged the pontiff to issue a declaration against him, on the ground of heresy: and to oppose their intrigues, he dispatched Drummond on a mission to the court of Rome. This envoy was the bearer of a letter, in which the king expressed his gratitude to Clement, who had refused to listen to the sug- Sep. 23.

[90] Winwood, i. 1—14. 52.

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gestions of his enemies; observed that mutual benefit might arise from the permanent residence of a Scottish minister in the papal court: and for this purpose solicited the dignity of cardinal for the bishop of Vaizon, a native of Scotland.[91] In addition he gave to Drummond verbal instructions. What they were we know not. Two points only have been disclosed: that he should solicit an annual subsidy for the payment of a guard about the royal person, and that he should offer to intrust the castle of Edinburgh to the custody of the catholics, and to dispose of the young prince of Scotland, as the pope might think proper.

Complaints by Elizabeth.

It was not, however, long before these intrigues reached the ear of Elizabeth. She ordered sir Thomas Brunkard to reproach the king with his duplicity: he affected the utmost surprise, and protested that he was wholly ignorant of the proceedings. Ogilvy and Drummond were examined and committed, the former to the castle of Edinburgh, the latter to the house of his mother: and the Scottish minister at the English court was ordered to complain of the queen's jealousy, and to require from her the proofs of the charge, that the prisoners might be brought to trial, and receive punishment, if it should be

1601. Feb. 5.

[91] See the original letter in Rushworth, i. 166.

[92] From Rushworth it is plain that Drummond received verbal instructions: that these proposals were parts of them, appears from Brunkard's charge in Birch, i. 420.

proved that they were guilty. We know of no further proceedings; and it is probable that the king for his own honour, was careful to protract, or suspend, the inquiry till the death of Elizabeth.[93]

Valentine Thomas.

1598. July.

There was another subject which contributed to widen the breach between the two princes. In 1598, Valentine Thomas, a prisoner on the charge of felony, privately confessed that he had been hired by the king of Scots to murder the queen. This avowal was received with surprise and horror. Valentine was repeatedly examined; his depositions were embodied in the form of an indictment; and a true bill was found by the grand jury of the county. Elizabeth now communicated the fact to James, with an assurance that she did not believe him capable of so atrocious a crime. The Scottish monarch

[93] Birch, ibid. Cecil a priest, and one of the Spanish party, who opposed Ogilvy in Spain, on some cause of discontent went over to Paget and the politicians; and became a correspondent of the earl of Essex. There is reason to believe that he communicated to the English government the copies of Ogilvy's negociation in Spain. Compare Winwood, i. 52. 108. with Birch, i. 263. 407. ii. 306. From these and the intercepted dispatches of the duke of Sessa, Elizabeth had sufficient evidence as far as regarded Ogilvy. Neither can there be any doubt respecting the mission of Drummond. Bellarmine published the letter of James: and, to excuse the king, Balmerino his secretary confessed that he had sent it without the royal warrant. He lost his office; but retained an ample fortune and the royal favour. That Creighton was also employed on the same mission as Drummond, appears from an original letter in the possession of the Rev. G. Oliver, to whose industry and research we owe the "History of Exeter, and Historic "Collections relative to the Monasteries in Devon."

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at first treated the charge with silence and contempt: but, fearing that it might afterwards be urged as an objection to his claim to the crown, requested his good sister to send him an attestation of its falsehood under the great seal. The queen complied: but he had no sooner read the instrument, than he returned it, saying, that it was so worded as to appear rather a pardon of guilt, than a declaration of innocence. Elizabeth complained of this conduct as an insult: recrimination followed recrimination; but it was not for the interest of either party to come to an open rupture; and after mutual remonstrances, the matter was suffered to remain dormant.[95] The charge, however, sunk deep into the mind of James. He considered it as a convincing proof of the hostility of Cecil; and probably suspected, as the trial of Valentine was only suspended during his good behaviour,[95] that it was but the first step taken to exclude him from the succession.

1599. May.

[94] Camden, 781. Rym. xvi. 358, 373—378.

[95] "We have stayed his arraingment: and will do, so long as "the king shall give no cause to the contrarie, whereof you may "assure him." Ibid. 357. When James came to the throne, he ordered his accuser to be hanged. Camden, Annales Jacobi, 2.

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TRANSACTIONS IN IRELAND—ADMINISTRATION OF PERROT—HIS TRIAL AND DEATH—REBELLION OF TYRONE—HIS VICTORY AT BLACKWATER—ESSEX LORD DEPUTY—HIS DISOBEDIENCE OF THE QUEEN'S ORDERS—CONFERENCE WITH TYRONE—RETURN TO ENGLAND—IMPRISONMENT AND TRIAL IN THE STAR-CHAMBER—HIS ATTEMPT TO RAISE THE CITY—HIS FAILURE, TRIAL, AND CONDEMNATION—HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER—OPPOSITION TO MONOPOLIES—VICTORIES OF MOUNTJOY IN IRELAND—SUBMISSION OF TYRONE—SECRET UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN JAMES OF SCOTLAND AND CECIL—DECLINING HEALTH AND LOW SPIRITS OF THE QUEEN—HER LAST SICKNESS AND DEATH—HER CHARACTER.

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In Ireland the lord Grey, by his cruelty and rapacity, had earned the hatred of all descriptions of people. He was replaced by sir John Perrot, supposed to be an illegitimate son of Henry VIII.; a man equally severe, but strictly impartial, who made no distinction between the English or the Irishman, but inflicted punishment on all offenders, according to their demerits. During his administration the late earl of Desmond was attainted by parliament, and the lands comprised within his earldom, amounting to almost 600,000 acres, were forfeited to the crown. Grants of these lands were made to English settlers: and most of the royal favourites obtained ample districts, on the con-

Perrot lord deputy. 1585.

1586.

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dition, that one family should be settled on every 240 acres; and that no native of Irish origin should be admitted among the new colonists. But it was difficult both for the crown to enforce, and for the grantees to fulfil, these conditions. The number of acres planted did not amount to one half of the county; and among the settlers was a considerable number of the former inhabitants, who, rather than abandon the place of their birth, consented to hold of foreigners the lands, which had descended to them from their progenitors.

Is tried and condemned for high treason.

Perrot had reduced Ireland to a state of tranquillity hitherto unknown in its annals. The indigenous Irish, observing the severity with which he punished the injuries inflicted on them by the English adventurers, looked up to him as their friend: but those who suffered from his justice, sought to ruin him in the estimation of his sovereign. His hasty temper occasionally betrayed him into unseemly expressions: his words, his actions, and his friendships were misinterpreted and misrepresented: and Elizabeth began to doubt his loyalty, and to think him capable of seeking a kingdom for himself. Wearied out with insults and opposition he solicited

1588. his revocation; and on his return was admitted into the council in England. For some years the queen's jealousy seemed to sleep: but Perrot had spoken irreverently not only of her, but also of her "dancing" chancellor; the revenge of

Hatton awakened her suspicions; and in 1591, a secret inquiry was made into the conduct of the late deputy during his authority in Ireland. The men whose excesses he had repressed and punished, eagerly supplied materials for his ruin; and the unfortunate Perrot was arraigned in Westminster hall, on a charge of high treason. The principal witnesses were Williams, formerly his secretary, O'Regan, an Irish priest, who having conformed and married, had been employed by him as a spy,[1] and Walton, a stranger, of disreputable character. As far as their evidence went to shew, that he had favoured the catholic clergy, negociated with the duke of Parma and the Spaniards, and secretly encouraged the insurrections of the O'Ruarcs and the Burks, it was undeserving of credit: but he could not deny, that in moments of irritation, when he found his plans for the melioration of Ireland rejected by his enemies in the Irish council, and these supported against him by their friends in the English cabinet, he had let fall expressions highly disrespectful to the queen and her advisers. That he was innocent of treason, there cannot be a doubt: yet he was found guilty, June 26. and two months later received judgment of death. His son had married the sister of Essex; whose influence in his favour was balanced by the powerful combination of his enemies. For

[1] For his services on this trial he received a pension of 40*l.* per annum. Camden, 647. Murdin, 799.

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six months his fate was kept in suspense; but a broken heart, or a poisonous potion, deprived him of life. He died in the Tower: an instance, says Camden, how difficult it is for a prince to forgive the wounds inflicted by a slanderous tongue.[2]

Rebellion of Tyrone.

Among the native Irish who had distinguished themselves in the war against the earl of Desmond, was Hugh the son of the late baron of Dungannon. His services had merited the approbation of the lord Grey, and had been rewarded by the queen, first with the earldom of Tyrone, and afterwards with all the rights and lands, which his grandfather Conn had formerly possessed. To this title of English origin he soon added, without her consent, another which rendered him far more respectable in the eyes of the natives. On the death of Tirlough Lynnogh, he proclaimed himself the O'Nial, and was considered by his countrymen as the Irish sovereign of Ulster. It would fatigue the reader to listen to the suspicions entertained of his fidelity, and his contrary protestations of loyalty: to examine the charges brought against him by the English governors, and their acts of violence alleged by him as justifications of his conduct: to notice the temporary hostilities, the repeated truces, the illusory negociations, which occupied the time, and perplexed the judgment, of several

1585.

1593.

[2] State Trials, 1315—1334. Camden, 645—647. Perrot's testament in Hearne's Camden, 923—927.

succeeding deputies. *He* required liberty of conscience; they replied that such liberty was dishonourable to God: he demanded the enjoyment of the rights possessed by his grandfather; they curtailed them to diminish his power and resources. The queen, whose attention was absorbed by the transactions on the continent, bore with impatience the very mention of Ireland. It was a kingdom which brought her nothing but expense and vexation:[3] nor did she blame the O'Nial so much as the interested policy of her officers, who (so she suspected) sought to carve out fortunes for themselves by driving the natives into rebellion. Hence she wished to extricate herself from the contest with Tyrone, provided she could do it with honour. She listened to his apologies, gave credit to his protestations, and instead of reinforcing her army, ordered her generals to negociate a peace. If we may believe them, it was the object of Tyrone to procrastinate the war, till he could receive the succours, which he had solicited from the pope and the king of Spain. If we give credit to him, he was sincere but cautious: he was content to live the subject of Elizabeth, but would not submit to be

[3] This was the opinion of many, "esteeming bothe Calayes and "Ireland rather a burden and a chardge: and therefore do thinke "it fit to leave them bothe, but for this onely respect; that where "Ireland hathe very good tymbre and convenient havens, yf the "Spaigniard might be master of them, he wold in short space be "master of the sease." Lodge, ii. 231.

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trampled into the dust by the oppression of her officers. After many alternations of peace and war, of victory and defeat, a decisive battle was fought at the fort of Blackwater in Tyrone. Bagnal, the English commander-in-chief, with 1500 of his followers, was slain; the artillery, the ammunition, and the fortress itself fell into the hands of the enemy. The O'Nial was celebrated in every district as the saviour of his country; and the whole of the indigenous population; and many of the chieftains of English origin, arose in arms to assert the independence of their country.[4]

1598. Aug. 14.

Essex, lord deputy.

When the state of Ireland was debated in the council, Essex, by his objections to the appointment of every other person, betrayed his wish to obtain, though he scorned to solicit, the office of lord deputy. His enemies, eager to remove him from court, sought to gratify his ambition; and the queen was induced, though it cost her a long struggle, to grant all his demands. To the remission of a debt of 8000 pounds, was added a present of almost thrice that sum: the army, to be placed under his command, was fixed at 18,000 men, comprising the best levies in the counties, and some of the veteran companies in the Netherlands; and his commission invested him with privileges never enjoyed by

1599. March.

[4] Camden, 688. 708. 715. 755. 783. Birch, i. 379. ii. 76. 273. 394. Sydney papers, i. 351. 362. ii. 84. Lodge, iii. 66.

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his predecessors, the power of pardoning all crimes and treasons without exception, and of concluding peace, or continuing the war, according to his discretion.[5] Even his instructions were drawn in conformity with his own suggestion, that he should in the first place proceed with his whole disposable force against Tyrone, and reduce, if it were possible, the province of Ulster, the great focus of the rebellion. To superficial observers he appeared to have regained his former place in the royal favour: and even the queen at his departure had dismissed him with expressions of kindness. But her mind was still prejudiced against him: some of his officers received orders to transmit to her faithful reports of his conduct; and his adversaries in the council smiled at the alacrity with which he precipitated himself into the snare, that had been laid for his destruction. His first act, after his arrival in Ireland, was in direct contradiction to the royal will. Elizabeth had forbidden him to give the command of the cavalry to his friend the earl of Southampton, who, by marrying in opposition to her pleasure, had incurred her dislike. Essex asked, if she meant to revoke the powers specified in his commission. The queen made no reply; but the moment she heard that Southampton had been named to the office, she ordered him to be removed. Essex remon-

He offends the queen. April 17.

July 11.

[5] Bacon's Works, iii. 127. 129. 142. Sydney papers, ii. 146.

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strated with spirit, and it required a second and more peremptory letter before he would obey.[6]

Alarm of invasion.

But at this moment the royal attention was called from Ireland by the alarm of invasion. The Spanish ministers, aware of the parsimony of the queen, sought to incline her to peace, by driving her into extraordinary expense. She was informed that the adelantado had again prepared a formidable armament at Corunna; next that he had sailed; and lastly that he had crossed the bay of Biscay, and had been actually seen near the coast of Bretagne. The usual precautions were immediately taken: one army was ordered to be raised for the defence of the royal person, and another to oppose the invaders; and the earl of Nottingham was ap-

Aug. 5.

pointed commander in chief of all the forces.[7] At the same time the queen, apprehensive that Essex might return to make a tender of his services, forbade him to quit his charge in Ireland without a warrant under her own hand. Soon, however, the alarm subsided. The adelantado had indeed sailed, but his fleet divided itself into two squadrons: the larger proceeded to the Canaries in quest of the Hollanders; the

[6] Birch, ii. 421. 423.

[7] Camden represents the real object of these preparations to have been to prevent the earl from bringing over the Irish army to England, for the purpose of driving his enemies from court (Camden, 797): but it is plain, from Winwood's memorials, that the alarm actually existed. See Winwood, SS. 91, 92. 95. Also the Sydney papers, ii. 112, 113.

other, consisting only of six gallies, directed its course towards England, and, to the surprise of the public, passed unobserved through the channel, and anchored safely in the water of Sluys.[8]

Essex had gone to Ireland for the express purpose of marching against Tyrone. Contrary to the expectation even of his enemies, he proceeded towards Munster, penetrated as far as Limerick, and, taking Cork and Waterford in his way, returned by the coast to Dublin. The reduction of two castles, and the feigned submission of three native chieftains, formed the sum of his exploits; and, if he magnified the importance of these advantages in his dispatches, he was at the same time compelled to own that three months of the summer season had been consumed, and that his army had dwindled away by desertion, disease, and the casualties of war.[9] But the queen would listen to no apology: his demand of reinforcements only inflamed her anger, and he received a peremptory order to undertake the promised expedition. About the end of August, with only three thousand men, a force inadequate to its object, he met Tyrone on the banks of the Brenny. Instead of fighting, the two chieftains conversed together in private:

Essex disobeys orders.

May 21.

June 4.

July 30.

Aug 24.

Makes a truce with Tyrone, Sept. 8.

[8] Winwood, 103. Camden, 802.

[9] The journal of this expedition is in Birch, ii. 398 and Nugæ Ant. 268. His excuse was, that it would be dangerous to march into Ulster before there was a certainty of fine weather, in the month of June. Winwood, i. 40.

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the next day a public conference was held: and an armistice was concluded, to be renewed every six weeks during the winter, on condition that the lord deputy should transmit to the queen the several demands of the O'Nial. Of these the most important were, that the catholic worship should be tolerated; that the chief governor should be an earl with the title of viceroy; that the principal officers of state and the judges should be natives: that the O'Nial, O'Donnel, Desmond, and their associates, should enjoy the lands possessed by their ancestors for the last two hundred years; and that one half of the army in Ireland should consist of natives.[10]

Returns to England without leave.

This termination of the campaign, so contrary to his promises, completed the ruin of the earl in the mind of his sovereign. If the disappointment of her hopes revived her resentment, her ignorance of what had passed between him and Tyrone in their private interview, provoked a suspicion of his loyalty. He might perhaps seek only to perpetuate his command by protracting the war; but it was also possible that his ambition might aspire to obtain the crown of Ireland, through the aid of the O'Nial.[11] Essex, however, did not allow her time to brood over

Sept. 28.

these thoughts. To her astonishment, on the morning of Michaelmas-eve, just after she had risen, but before she was dressed, the door of

[10] Winwood, 118, 137. Negge Ant. 293, 301, 302.

[11] Bacon, iii. 145, 146.

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her bed-chamber opened, and she beheld Essex himself on his knees at her feet. He begged of her to pardon the intrusion, to attribute it to zeal for her service, which had brought him from Ireland to lay before her the true state of that kingdom. Elizabeth knew not whether to be angry or pleased. She gave him her hand to kiss, and he retired with a cheerful countenance, observing to his friends, that though he had met with many storms abroad, he had found a perfect calm at home. About noon he was admitted to an audience, and entertained in the same delusion: but in the evening the tempest burst upon his head. He was ordered to consider himself a prisoner in his room, and within a few days was delivered to the lord keeper, to be kept in free custody under his charge.[12]

The queen's displeasure.

The sudden return of Essex had been occasioned by an angry letter from the queen, which he attributed to the envious suggestions of his rivals. His first plan was to embark a body of 2000 cavalry, to land on the coast of Wales, to hasten to London, and to drive his political an-

[12] Winwood, 118. Sydney papers, ii. 127—130, 131. Camden, 796. Bacon, iii. 121. A prisoner was said to be in free custody when he was permitted to remain in a private house, under the charge of a person who was responsible for his appearance. The degree of indulgence in these cases was regulated by the council; but whether he were confined to his chamber, or had the liberty of the whole house, or were permitted to take the air to a certain distance, he was always under the eye of a keeper, appointed by the council, or by the person, to whose custody he had been committed.

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tagonists from the court. But he abandoned this dangerous expedient by the persuasion of his friend the earl of Southampton, and of Christopher Blount, formerly the supposed paramour, now the husband, of his mother: and consented, in imitation of the late earl of Leicester, to endeavour, by his unexpected appearance at court, to disconcert the intrigues of his enemies.[13] But Elizabeth did not allow the same artifice to succeed a second time. Her obstinacy had grown with her age; and her passion was kept alive by the representations of sir Robert Cecil, the earl of Nottingham, the lord Cobham, sir Walter Raleigh, and their associates. She vented it on all who had accompanied the earl. "When I came into her pre-"sence," says John Harrington, "she chafed "much, walked fastly to and fro, looked with "discomposure in her visage, and, I remember, "catched at my girdle, when I kneeled to her, "and swore, 'by G—d's son I am no queen. "'That man is above me. Who gave him com-"'mand to come here so soon? I did send "'him on other business.' She bid me go "home. I did not stay to be bidden twice. If "all the Irish rebels had been at my heels, I "should not have made better speed."[14]

[13] State Trials, 1415.

[14] Nugæ Antiquæ, 354. Harrington had received a hint to keep a journal of the proceedings in Ireland. The queen now demanded

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She refuses to be reconciled.

But without the precincts of the court the public voice fearlessly declared itself in his favour. Men openly pitied his misfortune, and condemned the blind severity of the queen: his vindication was published in sermons from the pulpit, and in pamphlets from the press: several ministers had the boldness to pray for him by name in their churches: and even within the palace libels on his supposed enemies were found scattered on the floors and affixed to the walls. Alarmed by these indications of the public feeling, the earl of Nottingham and sir Robert Cecil assumed to themselves the merit of mitigating the royal displeasure. But the anger of Elizabeth was inexorable: and her desire of vengeance was sharpened by every interposition in his favour.[15] If she condescended to say that she sought "his amendment and not his de-

to see it. After she had heard it read, "she swore by G—d's son "we were all idle knaves, and the lord deputy worse, for wasting our "time and her commands in such wise, as my journal doth write "of." Ibid.

[15] At this time Hayward, a civilian, published his history of the deposition of Richard II., and dedicated it to Essex, with expressions of high esteem for his character. The queen ordered him to be imprisoned, and inquired of Bacon, whether the offence of Hayward did not amount to high treason. Afterwards she persuaded herself that Hayward was only the publisher, and wished him to be racked that he might discover the real author. "Nay, madam," said Bacon, "he is a doctor. Never rack his person, but rack his "style. Let him have pen, ink, and paper, and help of books, and "continue the story where it breaketh off, and I will undertake, by "collating the styles, to judge whether he be the author or not." Cabala, 81.

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"struction," it was not till she had consulted the judges, and had learned, to her disappointment, that he could not be charged with high treason. Still the solicitations of his friends were rejected: his offers of submission were requited with expressions of contempt: nor could his relations, not even his countess, obtain access to his prison. Anxiety of mind produced indisposition of body: but experience had taught the queen that such ailments were generally feigned, and she at first refused to allow her physician to see the patient. When, however, she was assured that there was little probability of his life, she began to relent: she even sent him a mess of broth from her own hand; and added, with tears in her eyes, that she would have visited him herself, if it had not been inconsistent with her honour. The earl, like Wolsey was recalled to life by the hope of repossessing the royal favour: and the queen, like her father, relapsed into her former antipathy in proportion as the sick man recovered.[16]

Dec. 12.

His trial and censure.

In this manner the fate of Essex occupied for several months the attention of the court. Elizabeth revolved in her mind a variety of plans: each was successively approved and rejected: and the earl, though he obtained permission to be confined in his own house, saw no prospect of a favourable result. At last the rashness of

[16] Sydney papers, ii. 146—159.

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1600. June 5.

his sister, the lady Rich, who had circulated copies of a letter written by her to the queen,[17] compelled Elizabeth, in vindication of her own conduct, to bring him to trial before eighteen commissioners. But she ordered the proceedings to be held in private; and the determination to be called a censure, not a judgment. The three great offences, his neglect of the war against Tyrone, his dishonourable conference and treaty with that rebel, and his return to England without permission, were urged against him by the counsel for the crown, Yelverton, Coke, Flemming, and Bacon: and he was condemned to be suspended from the exercise of his offices as counsellor, earl marshal, and master of the ordnance, and to remain a prisoner in his own house during her majesty's pleasure.[18] At his trial he submitted to his lot with an appearance of humility, which affected the commissioners, and even mollified the queen: afterwards he devoted his time to practices of devotion: declared that the tears of his repentance

[17] Her letter began thus: "Early did I hope this morning to "have had mine eyes blessed with your majesty's beauty;" and ends with these words: "let your majesty's divine power be no "more eclypsed than your beauty, which hath shined throughout "all the world; and imitate the Deity, not destroying those that "trust in your mercy." Birch, ii. 443. These passages shew what kind of flattery was believed to have the most influence with the queen. Her celestial beauty had then "shined throughout all the "world" during no less space than sixty-seven years.

[18] Moryson's Itinerary, part ii. 68. 74. Sydney papers, ii. 157—216. Camden, 828—830.

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had quenched the fire of his ambition; that he had made an eternal divorce from the world; and that if he still desired the royal favour, it was not for any earthly object, but merely that he might quit this life in peace with one, whom he revered as the image of the Almighty. Elizabeth began to look with an eye of compassion on the repentant sinner: she ordered his keeper to be removed, but at the same time warned him not to appear at court, but to consider himself still a prisoner under the charge of his own discretion.[19]

Aug. 27.

His dangerous projects.

The submission and contrition so recently manifested by Essex, were, however, but a mask, under which he covered the turbulent workings of his passions. On his commitment, his friends, particularly the earl of Southampton and the lord Mountjoy, apprehensive for his life, had earnestly laboured to effect his escape. Southampton even offered to be the companion of his flight, and the partaker of his fortunes in a foreign realm. But Essex resolutely replied, that he would never condescend to live in exile: he would either recover his former greatness, or perish in the attempt.[20]

Of the different projects which had offered themselves to his mind, the most flattering, both to his pride and resentment, was that from which he had been dissuaded in Ireland, the

[19] Bacon, iii. 152. State Trials, 1419. Winwood, 253, 254.
[20] Birch, ii. 470.

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forcible seizure of the royal person, and the banishment of his enemies from the council. With this view he now solicited the co-operation of the king of Scots, and of Mountjoy, who had reluctantly accepted the dangerous office of deputy in Ireland. If that nobleman gave, he soon recalled, his assent. He was willing to risk his life to save that of his friend: but the necessity had ceased: and, since his trial, Essex was no longer in danger of dying by the axe of the executioner.[21] The earl bore the disappointment with patience: but at Michaelmas, his monopoly of sweet wines expired, and his petition for a renewal of the lease was eluded by the queen, who replied that she would first inquire into its annual value: that when horses became unmanageable, it was usual to tame their spirit by stinting them in the quantity of their food. He petitioned a second time; and she appointed a commission to conduct the monopoly for her own benefit. He waited till the 17th of November, the anniversary of her coronation, when the courtiers were accustomed to crowd to her levee, to offer presents and addresses. On that day she received from Essex an humble and eloquent letter, well calculated to rekindle her affection, if a single spark were yet alive in her breast. This, in the shipwreck of his fortune, was the last plank to which he

1599. Dec. 26.

1600. Sept. 29.

Nov. 2.

Nov. 17.

[21] Ibid. 471.

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clung. It failed him: the letter remained unnoticed; and the unfortunate earl abandoned himself to the suggestions of despair.[22]

He solicits the aid of the king of Scots.

Hitherto he had lived in privacy and solitude: now the doors of Essex house were thrown open to every comer: his former dependants were summoned from the country; and their number was recruited by the accession of bold and needy adventurers. At the same time he invited the most zealous among the puritan preachers, whose daily sermons drew crowds of fanatics around him: and he proposed, to certain theologians, the question, whether it were not lawful, in the case of mal-administration, to compel a sovereign to govern according to law. As another resource, by a trusty messenger he sent professions of his attachment to the king of Scotland, informing him that the earl of Nottingham, Cecil, Raleigh, and Cobham, the faction which ruled at court, were leagued to place the Spanish infanta on the throne at the death of the queen; advised him to require the immediate recognition of his right to the succession; and promised on the arrival of the ambassadors to risk his life and fortune in defence of the house of Stuart. James, who had long distrusted the intentions of the secretary, received the offer with pleasure, and resolved to dispatch two envoys to England, ostensibly on a mission to

[22] Winwood, i. 271. Birch, ii. 462.

the English queen, but in reality to assure the earl of his approbation and support.[23]

Breaks into rebellion.

To elude suspicion, the principal of the conspirators were accustomed to assemble at Drury house, the residence of the earl of Southampton. Thence they communicated by writing with Essex, and discussed the several plans which he suggested. That which appeared least objectionable was, that they should proceed in force to the palace, that Sir Christopher Blount with his party should take possession of the gate, sir John Davis of the great chamber, and sir Charles Davers of the guard; and that the earl, with certain noblemen, should throw himself on his knees before the queen, and refuse to rise till she had granted his petition. Nothing, however, was finally determined: and while he waited with impatience for the answer of the king of Scots, he was precipitated into a new course by the vigilance of the ministers, whose suspicions had been excited by the concourse of people at Essex house, and whose fears were now confirmed by a secret communication from sir Henry Neville. To secretary Herbert, who brought the earl an order to appear before the council, he replied that he was too unwell to leave his apartment: in a few minutes he received a note from an unknown writer, warning him to provide without delay for his own safety;

Feb. 2.

Feb. 7.

[23] Birch, ii. 508, 509.

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and this was followed by intelligence that the guards had been doubled at the palace and in its neighbourhood. His only hope of success depended on expedition. During the night he dispatched messengers to assemble his friends; on their arrival in the morning, he informed them that a plot was laid for his life, and requested their company, while he proceeded to the queen, and solicited her protection against the malice of his enemies. It was Sunday; at ten in the forenoon, the lord mayor, aldermen, and companies would assemble at St. Paul's cross: and he had determined to join them at the conclusion of the sermon, and to call on them to follow him to the palace. To a cool observer the experiment must have appeared hazardous and uncertain: but he was buoyed up with the belief of his own popularity, and the knowledge that a few years before the duke of Guise, in similar circumstances, had, with the aid of the Parisians, successfully braved the authority of his sovereign.

Imprisons the lords sent by the queen. Feb. 8.

From the execution of this project, he was diverted by an unexpected arrival. A little before ten he was told that Egerton, the lord keeper, the earl of Worcester, Knollys, the comptroller of the household, and the lord chief justice, stood at the gate demanding admission. He gave orders that they should be introduced through the wicket, but that all their attendants, with the exception of the purse bearer,

should be excluded. Egerton demanded the cause of this tumultuary meeting; to whom Essex, raising his voice, replied, "There is a "plot laid for my life: letters have been "counterfeited in my name; and assassins have "been appointed to murder me in my bed. We "are met to defend our lives; since my enemies "cannot be satisfied unless they suck my "blood." "If such be the case," said Popham, "let it be proved: we will relate it fairly; and "the queen will do impartial justice." At the mention of impartial justice, the earl of Southampton complained of the assault made upon him by the lord Grey; but was told that the guilty party had suffered imprisonment for the offence.[24] Egerton desired Essex to explain his grievances in private: when several voices exclaimed, "They abuse you, my lord, they are "undoing you. You lose your time." Egerton, turning round and putting on his cap, commanded in the queen's name, every man to lay aside his arms and to depart. But Essex immediately entered the house: the lords followed; and the crowd shouted, "Kill them, "keep them for pledges, throw the great seal

[24] In Ireland, Southampton had put Grey under arrest for one night, because he had charged the enemy without orders. This had occasioned several challenges, which had been defeated by the queen's vigilance. On the 28th of January, Grey assaulted Southampton in the street, and was committed to prison for the offence. Winwood, i. 47. 292.

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"out of the window." Having passed through two rooms, guarded by musketeers, they were introduced into a back parlour; when the earl desiring them to have patience for half an hour, ordered the door to be bolted; and intrusted his prisoners to the care of sir John Davis, Francis Tresham, and Arden Salisbury.

Calls on the citizens to arm.

Returning to the court, Essex drew his sword, rushed into the street, and was followed by the earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Sands and Mounteagle, and about eighty knights and gentlemen; to whom were afterwards added, through friendship or fear, the earl of Bedford, the lord Cromwell, and about two hundred others. At Ludgate he prevailed on the guard to let him pass, protesting that his object was to save his life from the violence of lord Cobham, sir Walter Raleigh, and their accomplices. But he found the streets empty: there was no meeting at St. Paul's cross; and the citizens, in consequence of orders from the lord mayor, remained quiet within their houses. The earl proceeded shouting, "For the queen, my mistress!" till he arrived at the residence of Smith, one of the sheriffs, and, as he believed, his devoted partisan. But Smith was not to be found; his absence convinced the unfortunate nobleman of the failure of his plan; and, unable to conceal his agitation, he retired to a private room, to compose his spirits.

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Is compelled to return.

At court the earl possessed so many friends, that the ministers knew not whom to trust. By their orders the guards were mustered; the gates of the palace were closed and fortified; and every passage in the neighbourhood was obstructed with chains and carriages. The queen alone had the boldness to talk of going in search of the insurgents. Not one of them would dare to meet a single glance of her eye: they would flee at the very notice of her approach. About two in the afternoon, lord Burleigh with a herald, and the earl of Cumberland with sir Thomas Gerard, ventured to enter the city in different quarters, and proclaimed Essex a traitor, offering a reward of 1000*l.* for his apprehension, and a full pardon to such of his associates as should immediately return to their duty. The earl had by this time left the house of sheriff Smith, with blasted hopes and diminished numbers. Lord Burleigh retreated before him: but he was repulsed by the guard at Ludgate, and, returning to Queenhithe, proceeded by water, with fifty companions, to Essex house. Here his disappointment was converted into despair. The imprisoned lords, whom he had considered as hostages for his own safety, were gone. They had been liberated by the command of his confidant sir Ferdinando Gorges, who sought by this service to purchase his own pardon. As a

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And made prisoner.

last resource he began to fortify the house: in a few minutes it was surrounded by the royalists under the lord admiral. A parley ensued between sir Robert Sidney in the garden, and Essex and Southampton on the roof. The demands of the earls were refused; but a respite of two hours was granted, that the ladies and their female attendants might retire: and about six, when the battering train had arrived from the Tower, the summons was repeated. Lord Sands proposed a desperate sally: they would either cut their way through the enemy, or die, as brave men ought to die, with their swords in their hands. But Essex, who still cherished a hope of life, consented to surrender on the promise of a fair trial. That night the chief of the prisoners were lodged in Lambeth palace: the next morning they were conveyed to the Tower.[25]

Execution of Thomas Lee. Feb. 12.

The preceding evening Thomas Lee, a soldier of fortune, had offered his services to sir Robert Cecil: four days later he was heard to say, that if the friends of Essex meant to save him from the block, they should petition for his pardon in a body, and refuse to depart till it had been granted. Sir Robert Cross communicated this

[25] See Camden, 845. The State Trials, 1333—1350. 1410—1451. The very words employed during the parley are published in the Life of lord Egerton, p. 57, from a manuscript, N°. 16. in the library of the dean and chapter of Durham.

remark to the secretary: orders were issued for the apprehension of Lee; and the pursuivants discovered him the same evening, in the crowd at the door of the presence chamber, during the queen's supper. In the morning he was arraigned on a charge of intending to murder the sovereign; and the next day suffered the death of a traitor. No man, who will read the report of his trial, can entertain a doubt of his innocence. But his conviction produced this effect, it persuaded the queen that her safety was incompatible with the life of Essex.[26]

Feb. 13.

Feb. 14.

Trial of the two earls. Feb. 19.

In a few days the two earls were arraigned before the lord Buckhurst, as lord steward, and twenty-five other peers. Essex, looking round from the bar, observed that he saw among the lords several who were known to be his personal enemies. These he should challenge; it was the privilege of the lowest subject in the land; it could not be refused to one belonging to the first order of the state. The judges were consulted, who replied, that the law had drawn a broad distinction between peers and jurors. The former gave their verdict on their honour; and, as they could not be sworn, so neither could they be challenged.[27]

[26] It is published in Howell's State Trials, i. 1403. Camden's observation is, Pro temporum ratione salutaris hæc visa est severitas, p. 847.

[27] Camden, 848. The peers were the earls of Oxford, Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Derby, Worcester, Cumberland, Sussex, Hertford,

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The indictment charged the prisoners with having imagined the deposition and the death of the queen. It was supported with great vehemence by the crown lawyers, Yelverton, Coke, and Bacon, who drew their arguments from the open and acknowledged facts, that Essex and Southampton had imprisoned the four counsellors, had entered the city in arms, had called on the inhabitants to rise, had refused to disperse at the royal command, intimated by a herald at arms, had assaulted the military force posted at Ludgate, and had fortified and kept Essex house against the army under the command of the earl of Nottingham. Essex replied that he did not speak to preserve his life—it was not worth the preserving—but he stood there to preserve his honour. He had never entertained a thought of injuring the queen; nor were the acts assigned any proof of such an intention. If he had taken up arms, and had invoked the aid of the citizens, he could justly plead that it was done through necessity. The lord Cobham and sir Walter Raleigh sought to take his life: that the queen's authority afforded little protection, had been shewn by the late atrocious assault, committed in the open street by the lord Grey on the earl of Southampton; and in such circumstances he could conceive

and Lincoln; the viscount Bindon; the lords Hunsdon, Delaware, Morley, Cobham, Stafford, Grey, Lumley, Windsor, Rich, Darcy, Chandos, St. John of Bletso, Burleigh, Compton, and Howard of Walden.

no other means of safety than to repel force by the employment of force.

In refutation of this plea, it was urged that at Drury house the conspirators had proposed to seize the person of the queen, and to compel her to govern according to the pleasure of Essex; that the irruption into the city was the result of that project; and that this fact would be proved to the satisfaction of every impartial man, by the evidence of some, and the confessions of others among the conspirators.

Defence of Essex.

At the mention of Drury house, the earl betrayed symptoms of agitation. He had carefully destroyed every suspicious paper, and rested with entire confidence on the secrecy of his associates. However, he soon recovered himself; and when sir Ferdinando Gorges appeared as a witness, examined him sharply, extorted from him an acknowledgment that no injury was intended to the queen, and inferred from his manner and hesitation that he had been tampered with in the Tower, and was, therefore, unworthy of credit. In conclusion he observed that, whether the consultations at Drury house were criminal or not, was a question which did not concern him: they were held by other persons; he had never been present.

Of Southampton.

Southampton adopted a different line of defence. He maintained that, though many projects had been mentioned in these meetings, nothing had been concluded: that to consult

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was not to determine; that there was no connexion between the meetings in question, and the attempt to raise the city; that the latter arose entirely from occurrences, which could not have been foreseen, from the information of immediate danger to the life of Essex, and the unexpected arrival of the four counsellors.[28]

Altercation with Cecil.

As the trial proceeded, the earl was reproached with having said, that the kingdom was bought and sold. He vindicated the expression on the ground, that sir Robert Cecil, who ruled as if he were the sovereign, had maintained the right of succession to be in the infanta of Spain. Cecil, who was present, but unseen, instantly started from a private box; and, having obtained permission to speak, insisted that the earl should either name the person from whom he received the information, or be content to have his assertion accounted a calumny. Essex refused: but in his anxiety to repel the charge of falsehood, remarked that his fellow-prisoner had heard it, as well as himself. The secretary, turning to Southampton, conjured him by their former friendship, and as he was a Christian man, to name the informer. In this trying moment, Southampton appealed to the court, whether it were consistent with reason or with honour, that he should betray the secret. All replied in the affirmative, and he named sir Robert Knollys,

[28] Camden, 849—851. State Trials, 1333—1350.

comptroller of the household, and uncle to Essex.[29]

While a serjeant at arms was dispatched for Knollys, sir Edward Coke arose, and accused Essex of hypocrisy and irreligion, because, while he pretended to be a protestant, he had promised toleration to Blount, his father-in-law, a known catholic. The earl replied, that the charge was false: that he had always lived, and should die, a protestant: that he had never made any promise of toleration to Blount; but that he did not consider it an essential part of the reformed worship, to put catholics to death on account of their religion.[30]

When Knollys arrived, he gave a new but unsatisfactory version of his conversation with the two earls. If we may believe him, what he had heard from Cecil, and had repeated to his nephew, was, that the right belonged to the infanta, not in the opinion of Cecil, but of Dole-

[29] Camden, 854. The French ambassador, who was present, says that the reply of Essex "picqua si fort le secretaire (pour en "estre paraventure quelque chose) qu'il se prit à crier tout hault, "qu'il ne feroit jamais service à sa majesté, si on ne lui ostoit la "teste comme à un traistre." He adds, "il n'avoit pas oublié ce "jour la petite boite: car en ma vie je ne le veis plus beau"—and a little later, that the peers "à leur contenance redoubtoyent plus ce "petit homme, que leur conscience, et que leur royne." Winwood, i. 299. This letter soon became public, and, to appease the secretary, was disavowed by the ambassador.

[30] It is singular that the editors in the first edition substituted the milder expression, cruciarentur, for that in the original, morte afficerentur. Hearne's Camden, 855.

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man, who had dedicated his book to Essex. The earl shortly replied, that he had understood him in a very different sense. "Your misunderstanding arose," exclaimed the secretary, "from your opposition to peace. It was your ambition that every military man should look up "to you as his patron, and hence you sought to "represent me and the counsellors, who wished "to put an end to the war, as the pensioners of "Spain.[31]

They are found guilty.

To certain questions put by the lords, the judges replied, that it was rebellion in a subject to attempt to raise a force, which the sovereign could not resist: and that in every rebellion the law supposed a design against the crown and life of the sovereign, because it became the interest of a successful rebel, that the sovereign should not reign nor live to punish the rebellion. After an hour's deliberation the peers pronounced both the prisoners guilty. Essex observed, that as he should not solicit, so neither should he refuse mercy; that, though the lords had found him guilty according to the letter of the law, he believed that they had acquitted him in their own consciences; and that he hoped they would intercede for the life of his fellow-prisoner, who had offended more through affection for him, than through any other motive. Southampton followed. His only object had been to obtain

[31] Winwood, i. 300. Camden, 854.

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redress for his friend, whom he believed to have been treated harshly. The law might suppose in him the intention of deposing and killing the queen, but he knew that no such thought had ever suggested itself to his mind. His crime was a crime of ignorance. Yet he submitted to his fate, and threw himself on the mercy of the queen. He had spent the best part of his patrimony; and endangered his life in her service: and if, in pity of his ignorance, she were pleased to make him the object of mercy, he should receive it with humility and gratitude.

And condemned.

The lord steward pronounced judgment: the edge of the axe was turned towards the prisoners; and Essex observed, as he left the bar, that his body might have rendered better service to his sovereign: but it would be as she pleased: if his death proved an advantage to her, it was well. He begged that Ashton his favourite minister might attend him; made an apology to the counsellors whom he had confined; and asked pardon of the lords Morley and Delaware, whose sons, though entirely ignorant of the plot, had been drawn by him into the same danger with himself.[32]

Confession of Essex.

Essex was followed to the tower by Dove, dean of Norwich, who exhorted him to make his peace with the Almighty by the confession of his treason. The earl replied, that in what he had done, he had committed no offence

[32] Camden, 855—857. State Trials, 1350—1358.

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against God. He attempted to justify his refusal to appear before the council, by the example of David, who had disobeyed the summons from Saul; and contended that his office of earl marshal authorized him to reform the abuses in the government. To Dove succeeded Ashton, who, it was believed, had previously received his lesson from the secretary. This divine assumed a bolder and harsher tone. He rejected the earl's protestations of innocence as the sinful evasions of a guilty conscience; and threatened him with the vengeance of an omniscient Judge, unless he should make a full and sincere confession. Whether it was through the fear of death, or the menaces of the preacher, the spirit of Essex was at last subdued. He sent for the lord keeper, the treasurer, the admiral, and the secretary, solicited their forgiveness, and made an ample avowal of every ambitious and unlawful project which had entered his mind; betrayed the secrets of the men whom he had seduced to aid him with their counsel and exertions; and disclosed the object of the negociation between himself and the king of Scots. His confession filled four sheets of paper: but its accuracy has been doubted; and his associates complained that he had loaded both himself and them with crimes, of which they were not guilty.[33]

The eyes of the public were now fixed on Elizabeth. Some persons maintained that she had

[33] Winwood, 301. 303. State Trials, 1430. 1442. 1447. Birch, ii. 478—480. Camden, 865.

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Elizabeth signs the warrant.

not the heart to put her favourite to death—her affection would infallibly master her resentment; others, that she dared not—revenge might urge him on the scaffold to reveal secrets disreputable to a maiden queen.[34] But his enemies were industrious: and while they affected to remain neutral, clandestinely employed the services of certain females, whose credulity had been formerly deceived by the earl, and whose revenge was gratified by keeping alive the irritation of their mistress. From them she heard tales of his profligacy, his arrogance, and his ingratitude to his benefactress, whom he had pronounced "an "old woman, as crooked in mind as she was in "body."[35] This insult to her "divine beauty" sunk deeply into her breast, and jointly with his obstinacy in refusing to sue for mercy, steeled her against the apologies, the solicitations, and the tears of his friends. She signed the fatal

[34] Osborn, Miscellany, 212. Many believed that this was the real cause of his execution within the Tower. There is, indeed, something suspicious in the earnestness with which Cecil instructs Winwood to declare in the French court, that Essex had petitioned to die in private (Winwood, i. 302). When the envoy performed the commission to Henry IV. that monarch exclaimed, "nay, rather the clean contrary: "for he desired nothing more than to dye in publik." Ibid. 309. Barlow, however, in his sermon, says, that according to the earl himself, he had asked for a private execution, "lest the acclamations of "the citizens should hove him up." Birch, ii. 482.

[35] Osborn, Memoirs, 93. "The late earl of Essex told queen Eliza- "beth, that her conditions were as crooked as her carcase; but it cost "him his head, which his insurrection had not cost him, but for that "speech." Cayley's Raleigh, i. 310. See Birch's Works of Raleigh, i. 223.

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warrant; but, with her usual indecision, first sent her kinsman, Edward Carey, to forbid, and then the lord Darcy, to hasten, its execution.[36]

He is executed. Feb. 25.

About eight in the morning Essex was led to the scaffold, which had been erected within the court of the Tower. He was attended by three divines, whose words, to use his own expression, had ploughed up his heart. Never did a prisoner behave with greater humility, or manifest a deeper sorrow. He acknowledged his numerous transgressions of the divine law: but when he came to his offence against the queen, he sought in vain for words to express his feelings. He called it "a great sin, a bloody sin, a crying and "infectious sin, for which he begged pardon of "God and his sovereign." Whether he still indulged a hope of pardon, is uncertain: but it was remarked that he never mentioned his wife, or children, or friends; that he took leave of no one, not even of his acquaintances then present, and that, when he knelt down to pray, he betrayed considerable agitation of mind.[37] The first stroke took from him all sense of pain: the third severed his head from the body.

His character.

Thus, at the premature age of thirty-three, perished the gallant and aspiring Essex. At his first introduction to Elizabeth he had to contend against the dislike with which she viewed the

[36] Camden, 860.

[37] Bacon, iii. 179. Winwood, i. 301. Birch, ii. 481—494. Camden, 859.

son of a woman, who had been her rival, and a successful rival, in the affections of Leicester. If he overcame this prejudice, it was not owing to personal beauty or exterior accomplishments.[38] In these respects, if we except the exquisite symmetry of his hands, he was inferior to many gentlemen at court. But there was in him a frankness of disposition, a contempt of all disguise, an impetuosity of feeling, which prompted him to pour out his whole soul in conversation; qualities which captivated the old queen, accustomed as she now was to the cautious and measured language of the politicians around her. She insisted on his constant presence at court, and undertook to form the young mind of her favourite: but the scholar presumed to dispute the lessons of his teacher: and the spirit with which he opposed her chidings, extorted her applause. In every quarrel his perseverance was victorious: and his vanquished mistress, in atonement for the pain which she had given, loaded him with caresses and favours. Hence he deduced a maxim, which, however it might succeed for a few years, finally brought him to the scaffold; that the queen might be driven, but could not be led; that her obstinacy might be subdued by resistance, though it could not be softened by submission.

[38] He stooped forward, walked and danced ungracefully, and was slovenly in his dress. Wotton, Reliquæ, 170.

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Contrary to the lot of most favourites, he had enjoyed at the same time the affection of the sovereign and of the people. To the latter he was known only by the more dazzling traits in his character, his affability and profusion, his spirit of adventure and thirst of glory, and his constant opposition to the dark and insidious policy of the Cecils. His last offence could not, indeed, be disguised; but it was attributed not so much to his own passions, as the secret agents of his enemies, working upon his open and unsuspecting disposition. To silence these rumours, an account of his treason was published by authority, charging him, on his own confession, and the confessions of his associates, with a design to place himself on the throne. But the charge obtained no credit: and the popularity of the queen, which had long been on the wane, seemed to be buried in the same grave with her favourite. On her appearance in public, she was no longer greeted with the wonted acclamations: her counsellors were received with loud expressions of insult and abhorrence.[59]

Southampton is spared.

The death of Essex saved the life of Southampton. The ministers, alarmed by these indications of popular feeling, solicited the queen in his favour, and extorted from her a reprieve from the block, though they could not obtain his discharge from the Tower. Cuffe, the secretary,

[39] Osborn, Miscellany, 204. Birch, ii. 510.

and Merrick, the steward of Essex, suffered the usual punishment of traitors; which was commuted into decapitation in favour of Blount, his step-father, and of Davers, the friend of Southampton. For it was in this ill-advised enterprise, as it had been in the more atrocious conspiracy of Babington. Men risked their lives through affection for others. If Southampton adhered to Essex, or Davers to Southampton, it was because they deemed it a duty prescribed by friendship, to live or perish together.[40] CHAP. VII. March 13

The king of Scots, in consequence of his engagement with the conspirators, had previously appointed the earl of Marr, and Bruce, abbot of Kinloss, his ambassadors to England. Though the failure of the attempt was known in Edinburgh before their departure, they were authorized to promise that James would put himself Demands of the king of Scots.

[40] Ille nihil contra nisi quod periculum fortunarum et capitis in hac causa præ amore erga Southamptonium neglexerit. Camden, 865. State Trials, 1448. Sir John Davies, sir Edward Baynham, and Mr. Lyttleton were also condemned. But the first obtained a pardon after a year's imprisonment; Baynham purchased his with a sum of money to sir Walter Raleigh; and Lyttleton, having surrendered his estate of 700*l.* per annum, and paid a fine of 10,000*l.*, was removed from Newgate to the king's bench, where he died three months afterwards. Birch, 496. Camden, 858. Sir Henry Neville, the ambassador to the court of France, had been invited to Drury house before his departure.—If we may believe himself, he only heard some disloyal conversation, which he condemned, and then departed. The confession attributed to Essex made him more criminal. He was confined in the Tower till the queen's death. Winwood, 302. 325. Camden, 871. Yet Cecil affirmed that the first hint of the plot was received from him. State Trials, 1441.

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at the head of the party, if there still remained any reasonable prospect of success. They found the adherents of Essex plunged in the deepest despair, the people in a state of discontent, and Cecil possessing in reality the exercise of the sovereign power. Veiling their object, they congratulated the queen on her escape from the control of the conspirators; affirmed in strong language the innocence of their master, not only as to that, but as to all other attempts against her life or authority; requested in his name that she would pardon such of her subjects as were imprisoned for the sole offence of having visited him in Scotland; and demanded an addition to his annual pension, and a promise that nothing should be done to the prejudice of his right to the succession. James dared not hope for success in this negociation. He knew that Essex had betrayed the secret connexion between them, and he expected every bad office from the presumed hostility of Cecil. Under this impression he instructed the two envoys to inform the queen, when they took leave, that he would never give her any cause of grief during her time, but that the day must come, when there would exist no bar between him and the base instruments that she trusted, and that from them he would exact a severe account of their present injustice and presumption.[41] But the envoys

[41] James had certainly been persuaded that Cecil would oppose his succession. But in favour of whom? I suspect of Arabella

were spared the necessity of employing this menace. Cecil was a thorough-bred politician, whose friendships and enmities were regulated by personal interest. When Elizabeth was tottering on the brink of the grave, it was not for him to brave the resentment of her successor. The lord Henry Howard offered his services as mediator, and it was agreed that all past causes of offence should be mutually forgotten; that the king should receive an addition of two thousand pounds to his annuity; and that Cecil should silently pave the way for the accession of James at the death of Elizabeth. But the secretary required silence as an indispensable condition. Should the secret transpire, should even a suspicion be provoked of any concert between him and the Scottish king, the jealousy of Elizabeth would pronounce Cecil a traitor, and James a rival: and it should be remembered that the court contained many, who through interested motives would gladly infuse such notions into the royal mind. His advice was approved and

Stuart. In the secret correspondence between them after their reconciliation, many sneers are thrown out against the claim of that lady, and lord Shrewsbury and his mother are represented as seeking to raise her to the throne, though the letters in Lodge (iii. 124. 153.) shew, that at the same time Cecil pretended to be a sincere friend to the earl In the very first letter, written to be shewn to James, Arabella is called "Shrewsbury's idol, who, if she follow "some men's councils, will be made higher by as many steps as will "lead to the scaffold." The earl has no influence, and his mother can make no friends to the cause. Secret correspondence of sir Robert Cecil with James, vi. p. 14, 15.

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adopted. The correspondence passed through the hands of the lord Henry in England, and of Marr and Bruce in Scotland. Cecil continued to act, as if he had no eye to the succession of James: and James affected to speak of him as of one, from whom he had no reason to expect any service.[42]

Proceedings of Mountjoy.

Essex, in his confession, had betrayed the project for his release from captivity, to which the lord Mountjoy had formerly given his assent. Though that nobleman had conducted the war in Ireland with a vigour and success, which raised him to a high pre-eminence above all former deputies; he knew that he had reason to dread the resentment of the queen, and made every preparation to seek, at the first summons, an asylum on the continent. Cecil, however, convinced her that it stood not with her interest to irritate a favourite general at the head of a victorious army. Dissembling her knowledge of his guilt, she acquainted him, in a long and gracious letter, with the trial and execution of Essex; assured him that in her distress it afforded her consolation to think of his loyalty and attachment; begged him to keep a watchful eye over the conduct of the officers, who had received commissions from his predecessor; and instructed him to be prepared against the armament destined to invade Ireland from the coast

[42] See the letters in Birch, ii. 310—313. and the secret correspondence, 1--26.

of Spain. In a short time four thousand men, under the command of don Juan D'Aguilar, arrived. They landed at Kingsale, fortified the town, and called on the natives to join them against a princess, who had been excommunicated and deposed by several succeeding pontiffs.[43] CHAP. VII. Sept. 21.

Whilst Mountjoy assembled an army to oppose the invaders, Elizabeth summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster. Unwilling that men should notice her increasing infirmities, she opened the session with more than usual parade: but her enfeebled frame was unable to support the weight of the royal robes; and she was actually sinking to the ground, when the nearest nobleman caught and supported her in his arms. The only object of the minister was to obtain a supply of money for the Irish war; and his wish was gratified by the unexampled vote of four subsidies, and eight tenths and fifteenths. But if the members were liberal in their grant to the crown, they were obstinate in demanding the redress of their grievances. The great subject of complaint, both within and without the walls of parliament, was the multitude of monopolies bestowed by the queen on her favourites.[44] By a monopoly was understood a patent signed by her, and vesting in an individual, as a reward for his real or pretended Complaint of monopolies in parliament.

[43] Camden, 880—886. [44] Secret correspondence, 25, 26

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services, the exclusive right of vending some particular commodity. This custom began in the seventeenth year of her reign, and grew in a short time into an intolerable abuse. If it supplied her with the means of satisfying importunate suitors without cost to herself; yet, to the public, each patent operated as a new tax on the consumer. Sometimes the patentee exercised the right himself; often he sold it to another; but in both cases all subordinate venders throughout the kingdom, were compelled either to purchase the article in the first instance from the monopolist, or to pay him a yearly premium for the permission to sell it. Hence, wine, vinegar, oil, salt, starch, tin, steel, coals, and numerous other commodities, among which were several of universal consumption and the first necessity, had of late years been advanced to double the usual price; and the representatives of most counties and boroughs had been instructed by their constituents, to demand the abolition of so oppressive a grievance. The

Nov. 20.

motion was soon made: by the advisers of the crown it was met with the argument, that the granting of monopolies was a branch of the prerogative; that whoever only touched the prerogative, would incur the royal indignation; that to proceed by bill was useless and unwise, because though the two houses might pretend "to tie the queen's hands by act of parliament, "she still could loose them at her pleasure:"

and that the speaker was blameable to admit such motions, contrary to the royal commandment given at the opening of the session. It was, however, replied that the patentees were the blood-suckers of the commonwealth; that the people could no longer bear such burdens; that the close of the last parliament had shewn how little redress was to be expected from petition; and that the only sure remedy was to abolish all monopolies by statute. This perseverance of the commons shook the resolution of the minister, who was terrified by the execrations of the people as he hastened in his carriage through the streets; and subdued the obstinacy of the queen, who, though she annually became more attached to what she deemed the rights of the crown, yielded at length to his suggestions and entreaties. Sending for the speaker, she assured him, in the presence of the council, that she never signed a patent of monopoly, till she had been told that it would prove beneficial to the nation; that she was under obligations to the members who had brought the abuse to her knowledge; that she would, by proclamation, revoke every patent prejudicial to the liberties of the subject; and would suspend all others till their validity should be ascertained in the courts of law. The commons, happy to obtain redress without engaging in a contest with their sovereign, returned her thanks in language little short of blasphemy: and Cecil prided himself

The queen yields. Nov. 25.

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on the dexterity with which he had satisfied the people, without surrendering the prerogative of the crown.[45]

Defeat of the Spaniards in Ireland.

In the mean while, the lord deputy in Ireland had united his forces with those of the president of Munster, and besieged D'Aguilar with his Spaniards within their lines at Kinsale. Tyrone watched the operations of the besiegers. He had collected six thousand natives, and four
Dec. 24. hundred foreigners: and, early on the morning of Christmas eve, advanced to surprise the English in their camp. But his project had been betrayed to lord Mountjoy. The O'Nial was anticipated by the vigilance of his enemy, and was defeated with the loss of 1200 men. The result of this action convinced D'Aguilar that success was hopeless: he surrendered Kinsale, and the forts in possession of the Spaniards, and
1602. Jan. 2. obtained permission to return to Corunna with his men, their arms, and ammunition. Elizabeth received the news with warm expressions of gratitude: and a hope was cherished, that by this signal service, Mountjoy had atoned for his former disloyalty.[46]

Submission of Tyrone.

The departure of the Spaniards was followed by the reduction of Munster. The superiority of the English force, and the destructive ravages of famine, plunged the natives into despair:

[45] D'Ewes, ii. 644—654.

[46] Camden, 886—892. Winwood, i. 369, 370. 378. Lodge, iii. 152. Hibernia Pac. 411—444.

after a few contests, in which neither party gave quarter, resistance seemed at an end; and the conquerors remained in undisputed possession of a province, which was now become no better than an extensive wilderness. From Munster Tyrone sought his usual asylum in the north; but the deputy allowed him no leisure to breathe; he was continually hunted by the garrisons from Blackwater, Charlemont, and Mountjoy: his followers perished by hundreds through extremity of want; and the spirit of the O'Nial was at last subdued. He offered to submit on honourable terms; the pride of Elizabeth demanded an unconditional surrender.

In England the lords of the council laboured to mollify the obstinacy of the queen. They represented to her, that the Spaniards had adopted her own policy; that they kept alive the flame of rebellion in Ireland to exhaust her finances, and detain her forces at home; that for several years she had been compelled to maintain in that island an army of 20,000 men at an annual expense of more than 300,000l.; that she had it now in her power, by a few trifling concessions, to relieve herself from this intolerable burden, and to secure the English ascendency in Ireland. But they had an additional reason, which they dared not mention. They wished to effect the pacification of that kingdom before her death: lest the Spanish monarch should find there a powerful party already in

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arms, to support his pretensions to the Irish, as well as to the English, crown. After a long contest she began to relent: but it was still impossible to fix the indecision of her mind; and each succeeding week new and contradictory instructions were forwarded to the deputy. Mountjoy was perplexed: he knew not what answer to give to Tyrone; and the time was consumed in useless messages from one to the other. But the moment he heard that the life of the queen was in danger, he sent for the Irish chieftain, who made his submission on his knees; renounced the title of O'Nial, and all dependence on foreign authority; and solicited the restoration of his rights and honours from the mercy of his sovereign. Mountjoy, in return, granted him a full pardon for himself and his followers, and promised that his lands, with one or two exceptions, and his former title, should again be vested in him by a patent from the crown. From Mellifont they proceeded to Dublin, where they first heard of the death of Elizabeth. Tyrone burst into tears; but, though he condemned his precipitancy, it was too late to recede: he renewed his submission; and the few natives who refused to imitate his conduct, retiring to the continent, sought for support by fighting the battles of foreign powers.[47]

1603.

To prevent the Spaniards from making a

[47] Moryson, 200—300. Camden, 892. 905—909.

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second descent in Ireland, the admirals Levison and Monson had been dispatched to cruise off the Spanish coast. Unable to intercept the fleet from the Indies, they consoled themselves for the disappointment by the capture of a carack of immense value in the small haven of Sesimbria. While the English fleet convoyed their prize into port, Spinola seized the opportunity to sail for the coast of Flanders. He was discovered in his passage up the channel: several actions took place: and of his six gallies, three were sunk, the other three escaped into the harbour of Sluys. Thus closed the naval operations of Elizabeth's reign.[48]

Expedition by sea. March 19.

Sept.

The time, so long dreaded by the queen, had at length arrived; when, to use her own expression, men would turn their backs on the setting, to worship the rising, sun. It was in vain that she affected the vigour and gaiety of youth: that in opposition to the unanimous advice of the council, she persisted in making her annual progress: and that every other day she fatigued her decrepit frame, proceeding on horseback to view the labours of the chase, and the other sports of the field.[49] No art could

The queen's infirmities.

Sept.

[48] Camden, 893—896.

[49] Lord Henry Howard writes to the Earl of Marr, only five months before her death, "the queen our sovereign was never so "gallant many years, not so set upon jollity." Not to offend her, the council had objected against her progress, that it would hinder the harvest by taking up carts, &c.: but she was obstinate

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conceal her age and infirmities from the knowledge of her subjects: the consequences of her approaching demise became the general topic of conversation at court; and every man who dared to give an opinion, was careful to name her successor the king of Scots.[50] Some apprehension, however, was excited by the mysterious silence of Cecil. No artifice could draw his secret from his breast. To every question he warily replied, that he was the minister of Elizabeth: it was his duty to serve her: he had nothing to do with the appointment of her successor. James also was true to his engagement. Many attempts were made to elicit his opinion of the secretary; but his answer was uniformly the same; that though he had no reason to rely on the services of that minister, yet he saw nothing in his conduct which proved him to be an enemy.[51]

Cecil's counsels to James.

The apparent apathy of Cecil might damp, it did not extinguish the eagerness of others. All

"Order is given yesterday for the remove the same day seven-night; "hunting and disporting in the meantime every other day, which is "the people's ague." The earl of Worcester says, Sept. 19, "We "are frolyke heare in courte; mutche dauncing in the privi chamber "of countrey dawnces before the Q.M. whoe is exceedingly pleased "therewith." Lodge, iii. 148.

[50] Secret correspondence, 127.

[51] Secret correspondence, 17. 30. 88. 122. 192. "Never was the "world both within and without, more finely cozened, which "proves that both honest men and good workmen have the cause "in handling and therefore non transibit ista generatio donec "evenerint omnia."

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who had any thing to hope or fear from a new reign, sought to assure James of their attachment, and to make him the tender of their services. But of no individuals was the secretary more jealous than of the earl of Northumberland, the lord Cobham, and sir Walter Raleigh. They had been his associates against Essex, they were now his opponents at court. All three met regularly at Durham house, undertook to form a party in favour of James, and through the duke of Lennox, the political opponent of Marr, assured him of their readiness to hazard their lives and fortunes in his service. Cecil, who hoped to monopolize the royal favour, was instantly alarmed, nor did he spare the most calumnious insinuations to ruin them in the estimation of the king. He warned him to give no credit to their professions: they were men poor in fortune, and destitute of friends: without the ability, even if they had the will, to serve him; atheists in principle, and capable of every crime to accomplish their purposes. They might indeed assume the garb of friendship, but they would prove enemies at heart; their object was to discover his secrets, that they might betray them: to procure food for the jealousy of the queen, that they might remove Cecil from her councils, and make themselves the arbiters of the succession.[52]

[52] Ibid. 28—52. 66, 67. 107. Lord Henry Howard, who wrote by direction of Cecil, calls them "the diabolical triplicity," p. 26:

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But the secretary marred his own purpose, by the vehemence with which he pursued it. Pleading in excuse his superior knowledge and experience, he presumed to trace a plan of conduct for James, to point out the names of the persons to whom, and to whom alone, application should be made for their support, and to dictate the contents of the very letters which should be written to them by the king. He had been able to govern Elizabeth by exciting unfounded alarms in her mind;[53] and he sought by the same artifice to render James dependent on himself. He began to talk of conspiracies against the life and rights of that monarch; told him that he cherished enemies in his very court; and intimated some apprehension that the indiscretion and passions of his queen, unless they received a timely check, might prove fatal to the royal hopes.[54] James, however, had sufficient

and afterwards, speaking of Cobham and Raleigh, "your lordship "may believe that hell did never spew up such a couple, when it "cast up Cerberus and Phlegethon." 132.

[53] "The queen," says Howard, "is a lady that rather hears than "compares, numbers than weighs, and by consequence would make "all probable that is poetry," (mere imagination) p. 25. It requires some acquaintance with the enigmatical style of this writer to understand him. He means to say, that Elizabeth believes all that is told her: it is sufficient that a thing may happen, for her to be convinced that it will happen.

[54] Ibid. 143—168. They complain of the king's clemency; he was satisfied with the apology of Dethick for some offences imputed to him. "Were he now with us," they say, "as he is with you, "we should teach him which way judicare came into the creed." They then observe that the king's life must be preserved by

discernment to perceive the object of the secretary; and the offers which he had received from every other quarter, encouraged him to assume a bolder and independent tone. He gave Cecil and his confidant to understand, that he would not stoop to become the tool of private enmity or ambition: that he should accept the services of all who tendered them, and afterwards apportion their rewards to their deserts; that he expected, in place of dark and mysterious hints, an open manifestation both of the conspirators and of their designs; and that he considered as a personal insult the irreverent language, in which they had spoken of his consort. This answer convinced the secretary that he had formed a false notion of the character of James. He hastened to apologize for his imprudence, and begged the king to excuse those alarms, which had proceeded solely from attachment to his person, and solicitude for his interests.[55]

Designs of the exiles.

The question of the succession was as warmly agitated among the exiles abroad, as among the courtiers and politicians at home. The reader is acquainted with the plan of the Spanish faction, to place the infanta on the English throne. As long as she was at liberty to marry either the king of Scots, or an English nobleman, it was hoped that the nation might be induced to ad-

miracle: for it cannot be from the manner in which justice is administered, p. 225.

[55] Ibid. 106, 107. 170—180. 218.

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mit her claim: but from the moment of her union with the archduke Albert, the most sanguine of her partisans began to despond. After the death of cardinal Allen, in 1594, Persons left the court of Spain to reside at Rome. He now professed to limit his views to the succession of a catholic sovereign: who that sovereign might be, was not for him to determine: it was a question which he left to the decision of the pontiff, the neighbouring princes, and the people of England.[56] But there could be no doubt that, on the death of Elizabeth, many competitors would appear; and that, on such an occasion the catholic monarchs, in union with the catholic natives, might form a powerful party in favour of a catholic claimant. Attempts had formerly been made to steal away the lady Arabella Stuart as a dangerous rival to the infanta: she now became the favourite of the faction: it was proposed that she should marry the cardinal Farnese, who could trace his descent from John of Ghent; and that all catholics should be exhorted to support their united pretensions. When this visionary scheme was sug-

Of the Spanish party.

[56] "I am indifferent to any man lyving, that hath or shall have "right thereto, of what place or people soever he be, so that he be "a catholyke; but if he be no catholyke, as it belongeth not to my "vocation to stryve against him, so I must confesse, that soe "long as he is soe, nothing under heaven can move my heart and "will to favour his pretensions." Persons to the earl of Angus, Jan. 24, 1600. Plowden's Remarks on Panzani, 359. See also Winwood, i. 388.

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gested to Clement VIII., he appeared to entertain it with pleasure; but was careful not to commit himself by any public avowal of his sentiments. He signed, indeed, two breves addressed to the English nobility and clergy. But in them he mentioned no name. He merely exhorted the catholics to refuse their aid to every claimant, who would not promise to support the ancient worship, and to take the oath which had formerly been taken by the catholic monarchs. These instruments were forwarded to the nuncio at Brussels, and through him to Garnet the superior of the Jesuits, with an injunction to keep them secret till the death of Elizabeth. Garnet obeyed; and on the succession of the king of Scots, prudently committed them to the flames.[57]

Of their opponents.

The opposition faction, under the control of

[57] Lettres D'Ossat, ii. 502—509. Butler's Memoirs, 259. One great obstacle, which they could not remove, was the opposition of the king of France, whose interest it was that England should never be possessed by a prince allied to the king of Spain. On this account Henry refused to listen to any overtures from the Spanish party. When Aldobrandini suggested to him, that he and Philip might consult together on the subject, he replied, that it was impossible they should agree, for two reasons; "à cause de la ja-"lousie, que la condition et proximité de leurs etats les obligeoient "d'avoir l'un de l'autre: et pour etre leurs intelligences audit "Royaulme fort contraires: d'autant que tous les prestres et cato-"liques du paix pratiquez par les jesuistes regardoient le roi d'Es-"pagne, et ceux, qui leur etoient oposites, inclinoient de son côté," D'Ossat, ii. App. 12. Persons, however, did not despair. About three months before the queen's death, he renewed the proposal to the cardinal D'Ossat, and appears to have brought him over to his opinion. Ibid. 580

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Paget and his friends, pursued a contrary course. They pretended not to wish for a catholic sovereign to the prejudice of the lawful heir: they acknowledged the right of the Scottish king; and professed to hope from his gratitude or his justice, the mitigation of their sufferings, and the toleration of their religion. Affecting the praise of loyalty and patriotism, they openly condemned the conduct of Persons and his adherents; they even submitted to act the part of spies, and betrayed the plans and proceedings of their adversaries to both the English and Scottish governments.[58] Every year the division grew wider between these two parties: it crept into the seminaries abroad; it began to disunite the missionaries in England. A notion was propagated, that the severity of the government had been provoked and sharpened by the proceedings of the Spanish faction: several clergymen consulted together: they formed associations among themselves, and resolved to petition for the appointment of catholic bishops, that, like their brethren in other countries, they might live under episcopal authority, and might be more widely separated from the men, whose connexion

Controversy respecting the archpriest.

[58] Winwood, i. 51, 52. 89. 94. 101. 161. The ambassador Neville pleaded much in their favour with the secretary, though he despaired of success. "There is none of them but offer oath of absolute obe-"dience to the temporal government, and to employ body, goods, "and life against any invaders, renouncing all benefit of dispensa-"tion or other evasion from it." P. 162.

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with the leaders of the opposite party had rendered them, whether justly or unjustly, objects of suspicion to the queen. At first Persons supported, soon he opposed, their design: instead of several bishops, one archpriest was appointed; and *he* received secret instructions to consult the provincial of the jesuits in England on all points of particular importance. It is plain, from the subsequent conduct of Clement, that the pontiff sought only to put an end to the dissensions among the missionaries: but the projectors of the measure had in view a great political object. They had persuaded themselves, that by subjecting all the secular priests to the government of a single superior attached to their party, they should be able, at the death of the queen, to employ the influence of the whole body in support of a favourite candidate for the crown.[59] But their hopes were deceived. The appointment gave dissatisfaction; several clergymen appealed from the authority of the archpriest, and sent deputies to Rome to prosecute the appeal. Clement, after a long hearing, listened in part to their complaints. For, though he confirmed Blackwell, the new superior, in his office, he reprimanded him for his

1602. Oct. 5.

[59] This was asserted by Winwood, and D'Ossat, ii. 506. It is proved by a memorial in favour of the archpriest in my possession. "La principale ragione è non solo per conservare l'unione vivente "la regina, sino molto più dopo la sua morte per procurare qualche "successore cattolico conforme a certi brevi, che S. S. ha scritto gia "prudentissimamente alli cattolichi."

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intemperate conduct, and forbade him for the sake of peace, to ask or receive, in the discharge of his duty, the advice of Garnet, or of any of his brethren.[60]

Proclamation against the missionaries.

The queen's ministers had noticed the origin, and watched the progress, of this controversy. Their hostility to the Spanish party induced them to favour the cause of the appellants, who through the intermediate agency of Bancroft, bishop of London, were indulged with the means of corresponding with each other, with facilities for the publication of tracts in their own defence, and with passports for the deputies whom they sent to Rome.[61] But the connexion could not long be concealed. The zealots among the puritans were scandalized: they openly accused the ministers of a secret and mysterious understanding with the popish missionaries; and Cecil deemed it necessary to furnish public and unequivocal proof of his orthodoxy. A proclamation was issued in the name of Elizabeth, in which she noticed the division of the catholic clergy into two parties, one of the jesuits and their adherents, the other of the secular priests, their opponents. The former she pronounces traitors, without any exception: the latter, though less guilty, are disobedient and disloyal

[60] See the breve in Dodd, ii. 262.

[61] In these passports they were said to have been banished. Winwood, i. 373. He adds, "which party soever shall gain, the common cause must needs lose, whose nakedness shall be discovered, and shewn displayed, to the view of the world." Ibid. Jan. 6, 1602.

subjects, who under the vizard of a pretended conscience, steal away the hearts of the simple and common people. She then complains, that in consequence of her clemency towards both these classes of men, they even "adventured "to walk the streets at noon-day," and carried themselves so as to breed a suspicion, that she proposed to grant a toleration of two religions; though God knew that she was ignorant of any such imagination, and that no one had ever ventured to suggest it to her. In conclusion, she commands all jesuits, and all priests, their adherents, to quit the kingdom within thirty days, and all others, their opponents, within three months, under the peril of suffering the penalties enjoined by law against persons who had received ordination by authority of the bishop of Rome.[62]

Their protestation of allegiance.

1602. Jan. 29.

The proclamation was followed by the establishment of a new commission, for the sole purpose of banishing the catholic clergymen. It consisted of the archbishop, the lord keeper, lord treasurer, and several other counsellors and judges, of whom six were a sufficient number to form a court. They were empowered to call before them every priest whom they thought proper, whether he were in prison or at large; and, without observing any of the usual forms of trial, to send him into banishment, under such

[62] Rymer, xiv. 473—476.

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conditions and limitations as they should choose to prescribe.[63] These proceedings, though they wore the semblance of hostility, were hailed by many of the missionaries, as the commencement of a new era: the distinction admitted in the proclamation, and the discretionary power given to the judges, encouraged a hope of further indulgence; and they resolved to deserve it, by presenting to the queen a protestation of civil allegiance, drawn in the most ample and satis-

Jan. 31.

factory form. In this instrument they declared, 1°. that she had a right to all that civil authority, which was possessed by her predecessors; that they were bound to pay to her the same obedience in civil causes which catholic priests had ever been bound to pay to catholic sovereigns; and that no authority on earth could discharge them from that obligation: 2°. that in cases of conspiracy and invasion, even under pretence of restoring the catholic religion, they conceived it their duty to stand by her against all her opponents, and to reveal to her all plots and treasons which might come to their knowledge: 3°. that, were any excommunication to be issued against them on account of their performance of this duty, they should look upon it as of no effect: and lastly, that by this protestation of their loyalty, they did not trench upon that obedience, which was due to the spiritual supremacy of the

[63] Rymer, xiv. 489.

pontiff, but as they were ready to shed their blood in defence of their queen and country, so would they rather lose their lives, than infringe the lawful authority of the catholic church.[64] What influence such an address might have had, we cannot tell: it never reached the hands of the queen: she was no longer in a condition to reward, or to punish.

The queen's melancholy.

Elizabeth had surprised the nations of Europe by the splendour of her course: she was destined to close the evening of her life in gloom and sorrow. The bodily infirmities which she suffered, may have been the consequences of age: her mental afflictions are usually traced by historians to regret for the execution of Essex. That she deeply bewailed his fate, that she accused herself of precipitancy and cruelty, is certain: but there were disclosures in his confession, to which her subsequent melancholy may with greater probability be ascribed. From that document she learned the unwelcome and distressing truth, that she had lived too long; that her favourites looked with impatience to the moment which would free them from her control, and that the very men on whose loyalty she had hitherto reposed with confidence, had already proved unfaithful to her. She became pensive and taciturn: she sate whole days by herself, indulging in the most gloomy reflec-

[64] Dodd, ii. 292.

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tions: every rumour agitated her with new and imaginary terrors: and the solitude of her court, the opposition of the commons to her prerogative, and the silence of the citizens when she appeared in public, were taken by her for proofs that she had survived her popularity, and was become an object of aversion to her subjects. Under these impressions, she assured the French ambassador that she had grown weary of her very existence.[65]

Sir John Harrington, her godson, who visited the court about seven months after the death of Essex, has described in a private letter, the state in which he found the queen. She was altered in her features, and reduced to a skeleton. Her food was nothing but manchet bread and succory pottage. Her taste for dress was gone. She had not changed her clothes for many days. Nothing could please her: she was the torment of the ladies who waited on her person. She stamped with her feet, and swore violently at the objects of her anger. For her protection she had ordered a sword to be placed by her table, which she often took in her hand, and thrust with violence into the tapestry of her chamber. About a year later he returned to the palace, and was admitted to her presence. "I found "her," he says, "in a most pitiable state. She "bade the archbishop ask me, if I had seen

1601. Oct. 9.

1602. Dec. 27.

[65] Birch, ii. 505.

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" Tyrone. I replied, with reverence, that I had " seen him with the lord deputy. She looked " up with much choler and grief in her counte- " nance, and said, ' O, now it mindeth me, that " ' you was one who saw this man elsewhere ;' " and hereat she dropped a tear and smote her " bosom. She held in her hand a golden cup, " which she often put to her lips: but, in " truth, her heart seemed too full to need more " filling." [66]

Her last illness. 1603. Jan. 21.

In January she was troubled with a cold, and about the end of the month removed, on a wet and stormy day, from Westminster to Richmond. Her indisposition increased: but, with her characteristic obstinacy, she refused the advice of her physicians. Loss of appetite was accompanied with lowness of spirits, and to add to her distress, it chanced that her intimate friend, the countess of Nottingham, died.[67] Elizabeth now spent her days and nights in sighs and tears: or, if she condescended to speak, she always chose some unpleasant and irritating subject; the

[66] Nugæ Antiquæ, 317. 320. He adds, " she rated most grievously " at noon at some one, who minded not to bring up some matter of " account. Several men have been sent to, and when ready at hand, " her highness hath dismissed them in great anger: but who shall " say ' your highness hath forgotten ' ? "

[67] I do not notice the story of the ring, said to have been sent by Essex to Elizabeth, but not delivered by the countess, who revealed her treachery on her death-bed. Had it been true, it would have been mentioned by some of those who have related the occurrences of the queen's malady.

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treason and execution of Essex, or the pretensions of Arabella Stuart, or the war in Ireland, and the pardon of Tyrone. At last she fell into

March 10. a state of stupor, and for some hours lay as dead. As soon as she recovered, she ordered cushions to be brought and spread on the floor. On these she seated herself, under a strange notion, that if she were once to lie down in bed, she should never rise again. No prayers of the secretary, or the archbishop, or the physicians, could induce her to remove, or to take any medicine. For ten days she sate on the cushions, generally with her finger in her mouth, and her eyes open, and fixed on the ground. Her strength rapidly decayed: it was evident she had but a short time to live.

She appoints James her successor.

Sir Robert Cecil now took the necessary measures to fulfil his engagements to the king of Scots. He sent for his confidential friends to Richmond, and requested others to repair to London. Partly by entreaty, and partly by force,

March 21. the queen was put to bed, and listened attentively to the prayers and exhortations of the

March 22. archbishop. The next day she lay on her side, motionless and apparently insensible. On the following morning the lord admiral, with the lord keeper, and the secretary, approached the dying queen, and begged to remind her of what she had said to him at Whitehall, that her throne was the throne of kings. We are told that, at his voice, she started as from a dream.

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epeated the words, and added, " I will have no " rascal to succeed me. Who should succeed me " but a king?" Cecil wishing to elicit a more intelligible answer, requested her to explain what she meant by " no rascal." She replied that a king should succeed, and who could that be but her cousin of Scotland? The archbishop again prayed: she became speechless, but twice beckoned to him to continue. In the evening the three lords came a second time, and desired her to make sign, if she continued in the same mind. She raised her arms in the air, and closed them over her head. In a few minutes she began to doze: and at three the next morning tranquilly breathed her last. By six, the lords from Richmond joined those in London; and a resolution was taken to proclaim James as heir to the queen by proximity of blood, and by her own appointment on her death-bed.[68]

Her death, March 24.

In the judgment of her contemporaries, and that judgment has been ratified by the consent of posterity, Elizabeth was numbered among the greatest and the most fortunate of our princes. The tranquillity which, during a reign of nearly half a century, she maintained within her dominions, while the neighbouring nations were convulsed with intestine dissensions, was taken as a proof of the wisdom or the vigour

Elizabeth's reputation.

[68] Camden, 909—911. Somers' Tracts, i. 246, 247. Carey's Memoirs, 122. Birch, ii. 506—508. D'Israeli, Curiosities of Literature, second series, iii. 107—109.

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of her government: and her successful resistance against the Spanish monarch, the many injuries which she inflicted on that lord of so many kingdoms, and the spirit displayed by her fleets and armies, in expeditions to France and the Netherlands, to Spain, to the West, and even the East Indies, served to give to the world an exalted notion of her military and naval power. When she came to the throne, England ranked only among the secondary kingdoms; before her death it had risen to a level with the first nations in Europe.

Of this rise two causes may be assigned. The one, though more remote, was that spirit of commercial enterprise, which had revived in the reign of Mary, and had been carefully fostered in that of Elizabeth, by the patronage of the sovereign, and the co-operation of the great. Its benefits were not confined to the trading and seafaring classes, the two interests more immediately concerned. It gave a new tone to the public mind: it diffused a new energy through all ranks of men. Their views became expanded: their powers were called into action; and the example of successful adventure furnished a powerful stimulus to the talent and industry of the nation. Men in every profession looked forward to wealth and independence: all were eager to start in the race of improvement.

The other cause may be discovered in the

system of foreign policy, adopted by the ministers; a policy, indeed, which it may be difficult to reconcile with honesty and good faith, but which, in the result, proved eminently successful. The reader has seen them perpetually on the watch to sow the seeds of dissension, to foment the spirit of resistance, and to aid the efforts of rebellion in the neighbouring nations. In Scotland the authority of the crown was almost annihilated; France was reduced to an unexampled state of anarchy, poverty, and distress; and Spain beheld with dismay her wealth continually absorbed, and her armies annually perishing, among the dikes and sand-banks of the Low Countries. The depression of these powers, if not a positive, was a relative benefit. As other princes descended, the English queen appeared to rise on the scale of reputation and power.

Her disputes with her ministers.

In what proportion the merit or demerit of these and of other measures should be shared between Elizabeth and her counsellors, it is impossible to determine. On many subjects she could see only with their eyes, and hear with their ears; yet it is evident that her judgment or her conscience frequently disapproved of their advice. Sometimes, after a long struggle, they submitted to her wisdom or obstinacy; sometimes she was terrified or seduced into the surrender of her own opinion: generally a compromise was effected by mutual concessions.

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This appears to have happened on most debates of importance, and particularly with respect to the treatment of the unfortunate queen of Scots. Elizabeth may perhaps have dissembled: she may have been actuated by jealousy or hatred: but, if we condemn, we should also remember the arts and frauds of the men by whom she was surrounded, the false information which they supplied, the imaginary dangers which they created, and the dispatches which they dictated in England to be forwarded to the queen through the ambassadors in foreign courts, as the result of their own judgment and observation.[69]

Her irresolution.

It may be that the habitual irresolution of Elizabeth was partially owing to her discovery of such practices: but there is reason to believe that it was a weakness inherent in the constitution of her mind.[70] To deliberate appears to have been her delight: to resolve was her torment. She would receive advice from any; from foreigners as well as natives, from the ladies of her bed-chamber no less than the lords of her council: but her distrust begot hesitation; and she always suspected that some interested motive lurked under the pretence of zeal for her service.

[69] Of these artifices many instances occur in the preceding pages. See also Winwood, i. 20. ii. 93.

[70] I consider it natural to her, because she betrayed it in matters of little importance. Even in her progresses no one could be certain when, or to what place, she would go. She is described as changing her mind almost every day.

Hence she often suffered months, sometimes years, to roll away before she came to a conclusion: and then it required the same industry and address to keep her steady to her purpose, as it had already cost to bring her to it. The ministers, in their confidential correspondence, perpetually lamented this infirmity in the queen: in public they employed all their ingenuity to skreen it from notice, and to give the semblance of wisdom to that which, in their own judgment, they characterized as folly.[71]

Her economy.

Besides irresolution, there was in Elizabeth another quality equally, perhaps more, mortifying to her counsellors and favourites; her care to improve her revenue, her reluctance to part with her money. That frugality in a sovereign is a virtue deserving the highest praise, could not be denied; but they contended that, in their mistress, it had degenerated into parsimony, if not into avarice. Their salaries were, indeed, low: she distributed her gratuities with a sparing hand; and the more honest among them injured their fortunes in her service: yet there were others who, by the sale of places and patronage,[72] and

[71] See particularly Digges, 199. 203.

[72] The sale of patronage extended even to the ladies of the court. From a letter in Birch, it appears, that Lady Edmonds had refused the offer of 100*l.* for her interest with the queen in a cause in chancery. "This ruffianry of causes," says the writer, "I am daily "more and more acquainted with: which groweth by the queen's "straitness to give these women: whereby they presume thus on "grange, and huck causes." Birch, i. 351.

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monopolies, were able to amass considerable wealth, or to spend with a profusion almost unexampled among subjects. The truth, however, was, that the foreign policy of the cabinet, had plunged the queen into a gulph of unfathomable expense. Her connexion with the insurgents in so many different countries, the support of a standing army in Holland, her long war with Spain, and the repeated attempts to suppress the rebellion of Tyrone, were continual drains upon the treasury, which the revenue of the crown, with every adventitious aid of subsidies, loans, fines, and forfeitures, was unable to supply. Her poverty increased as her wants multiplied. All her efforts were cramped: expeditions were calculated on too limited a scale, and for too short a period; and the very apprehension of present, served only to entail on her future and more enormous expense.

Her state and deportment.

An intelligent foreigner had described Elizabeth, while she was yet a subject, as haughty and overbearing: on the throne she was careful to display that notion of her own importance, that contempt of all beneath her, and that courage in the time of danger, which were characteristic of the Tudors. She seemed to have forgotten that she ever had a mother: but was proud to remind both herself and others that she was the daughter of a powerful monarch, of Henry VIII. On occasions of ceremony she appeared in all her splendour, accompanied

by the great officers of state, and with a numerous retinue of lords and ladies, dressed in their most gorgeous apparel. In reading the accounts of her court, we may sometimes fancy ourselves transported into the palace of an eastern princess. When Hentzner saw her, she was proceeding on a Sunday from her own apartment to the chapel. First appeared a number of gentlemen, barons, earls, and knights of the garter; then came the chancellor with the seals, between two lords carrying the sceptre and the sword. Elizabeth followed: and wherever she cast her eyes, the spectators instantly fell on their knees. She was then in her sixty-fifth year. She wore false hair of a red colour, surmounted with a crown of gold. The wrinkles of age were imprinted on her face; her eyes were small, her teeth black, her nose prominent. The collar of the garter hung from her neck; and her bosom was uncovered, as became an unmarried queen. Behind her followed a long train of young ladies dressed in white; and on each side stood a line of gentlemen pensioners, with their gilt battle-axes, and in splendid uniforms.

The traveller next proceeded to the dining room. Two gentlemen entered to lay the cloth, two to bring the queen's plate, salt, and bread. All, before they approached the table, and when they retired from it, made three genuflexions. Then came a single and a married lady, per-

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forming the same ceremonies. The first rubbed the plate with bread and salt; the second gave a morsel of meat to each of the yeomen of the guard, who brought in the different courses; and at the same time the hall echoed to the sound of twelve trumpets, and two kettle-drums. But the queen dined that day in private: and after a short pause, her maids of honour entered in procession, and with much reverence and solemnity, took the dishes from the table, and carried them into an inner apartment.[73]

Her love of popularity.

Yet while she maintained this state in public and in the palace, while she taught the proudest of the nobility to feel the distance between them and their sovereign, she condescended to court the good will of the common people. In the country they had access to her at all times; neither their rudeness nor importunity appeared to offend her: she received their petitions with an air of pleasure, thanked them for their expressions of attachment, and sought the opportunity of entering into private conversation with individuals. Her progresses were undoubtedly undertaken for pleasure: but she made them subservient to policy, and increased her popularity by her affability and condescension to the private inhabitants of the counties in which she made her temporary abode.[74]

[73] Hentzner, translated by Walpole, 34—37. [74] Naunton, 88.

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From the elevation of the throne, we may now follow Elizabeth into the privacy of domestic life. Her natural abilities were great: she had studied under experienced masters; and her stock of literature was much more ample than that of most females of the age. Like her sister Mary, she possessed a knowledge of five languages: but Mary did not venture to converse in Italian, neither could she construe the Greek Testament, like Elizabeth.[75] The queen is said to have excelled on the virginals, and to have understood the most difficult music. But dancing was her principal delight: and in that exercise she displayed a grace and spirit, which was universally admired. She retained her partiality for it to the last: few days passed in which the young nobility of the court were not called to dance before their sovereign; and the queen herself condescended to perform her part in a galliard with the duke of Nevers, at the age of sixty-nine.[76]

Her talents and acquirements.

Of her vanity the reader will have noticed several instances in the preceding pages: there remains one of a more extraordinary description. It is seldom that females have the boldness to become the heralds of their own charms: but

Her vanity.

[75] Lansdowne MSS. N°. 840. B. p. 159.

[76] Stanhope writes in 1589. "The Q. is so well as I assure you "VI. or VII gallyards in a morninge besides musycke and synging, "is her ordynary exercyse." Lodge, ii. 41. Sydney papers, i. 375. 385. ii. 262. Lodge iii. 148.

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Elizabeth by proclamation announced to her people, that none of the portraits, which had hitherto been taken of her person, did justice to the original: that at the request of her council she had resolved to procure an exact likeness from the pencil of some able artist: that it should soon be published for the gratification of her loving subjects: and that on this account she strictly forbade all persons whomsoever, to paint or engrave any new portraits of her features without licence, or to shew or publish any of the old portraits, till they had been reformed according to the copy to be set forth by authority.[77]

The courtiers soon discovered how greedy their sovereign was of flattery. If they sought to please, they were careful to admire; and adulation the most fulsome and extravagant, was accepted by the queen with gratitude, and rewarded with bounty. Neither was her appetite for praise cloyed, it seemed rather to become more craving, by enjoyment. After she had passed her grand climacteric she exacted the same homage to her faded charms, as had been paid to her youth; and all who addressed her, were still careful to express their admiration of her beauty in the language of oriental hyperbole.

But however highly the queen might think of

[77] From the original corrected by Cecil, in 1560, and printed in the Archæologia, ii. 169, 170.

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Her fondness for dress.

her person, she did not despise the aid of external ornament. At her death, two, some say three, thousand dresses were found in her wardrobe, with a numerous collection of jewellery, for the most part presents, which she had received from petitioners, from her courtiers on her saint's day, and at the beginning of each year, and from the noblemen and gentlemen, whose houses she had honoured with her presence.[78] To the austere notions of the bishop of London, this love of finery appeared unbecoming her age, and in his sermon he endeavoured to raise her thoughts from the ornaments of dress to the riches of heaven: but she told her ladies, that if he touched upon that subject again, she would fit *him* for heaven. He should walk there without a staff, and leave his mantle behind him.[79]

[78] In the lists of presents which she received on these occasions, we find every article of dress, even to body linen. The following account may perhaps amuse the reader. "At her first lighting at "the lord keeper's she had a fine fanne with a handle, garnisht "with diamonds; in the middle was a nosegay, and in yt a very "rich jewel, valued at 400*l.* at least. After dinner in her privy "chamber he gave her a faire paire of virginals: in her bed-cham- "ber he presented her with a fine gown and a juppin (petticoat), "which things were pleasing to her highness: and to grace his "lordship the more, *she of herself tooke from him* a salte, a spoone, "and a forcke of faire agatte." Sydney papers, i. 376. As late as December 6th before her death, she dined with sir Robert Cecil, and accepted from him presents to the value of 2000 crowns. Carte from Beaumont's Dispatches, iii. 701.

[79] Nugæ Antiquæ, 176. "Perchance," says Harrington, "the "bishop hath never sought her highness' wardrobe, or he would "have chosen another text."

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Her irritability.

In her temper Elizabeth seemed to have inherited the irritability of her father. The least inattention, the slightest provocation, would throw her into a passion. At all times her discourse was sprinkled with oaths: in the sallies of her anger it abounded with imprecations and abuse. Nor did she content herself with words; not only the ladies about her person, but her courtiers and the highest officers in the state felt the weight of her hands. She collared Hatton, she gave a blow on the ear to the earl marshal, and she spat on sir Matthew Arundel, with the foppery of whose dress she was offended.[80]

Her amours.

To her first parliament she had expressed a wish that on her tomb might be inscribed the title of "the virgin queen." But the woman who despises the safeguards, must be content to forfeit the reputation, of chastity. It was not long before her familiarity with Dudley provoked dishonourable reports. At first they gave her pain: but her feelings were soon blunted by passion: in the face of the whole court she assigned to her supposed paramour an apartment contiguous to her own bed-chamber: and by this indecent act proved that she was become regardless of her character, and callous to every sense of shame.[81] But Dudley, though the most

[80] Nugæ Ant. 167. 176.

[81] Quadra, bishop of Aquila, the Spanish ambassador, in the beginning of 1561, informs the king, that according to common belief, the queen "lived with Dudley: that in one of his audi-

favoured, was not considered as her only lover: among his rivals were numbered Heneage, and Hatton and Raleigh, and Oxford and Blount, and Simier and Anjou: and it was afterwards believed that her licentious habits survived, even when the fires of wantonness had been quenched by the chill of age.[82] The court imitated the manners of the sovereign. It was a place in which, according to Faunt, "all enormities reigned in "the highest degree,"[83] or according to Harrington, "where there was no love, but that of "the lusty god of gallantry, Asmodeus."[84]

Her government despotic.

Elizabeth firmly believed, and zealously upheld, the principles of government, established

ences Elizabeth spoke to him respecting this report, and, in proof of its improbability, shewed him the situation of her room and bedchamber, la disposicion de su camera y alcoba. But in a short time she deprived herself of this plea. Under the pretext that Dudley's apartment in a lower story of the palace was unwholesome, she removed him to another, contiguous to her own chamber: una habitacion alta junto a su camera, pretestendo que la que tenia era mal sana. The original dispatches are at Simancas, with several letters from an English lady, formerly known to Philip, (probably the marchioness of Winchester,) describing in strong colours the dissolute manners both of Elizabeth, and her court. I may here add that, although some writers have refused to give any credit to the celebrated letter from Mary, in Murdin, 558; yet almost every statement in it has been confirmed by other documents.

[82] Osborn, Memoirs, 33.

[83] Birch, i. 39. In another letter he says, "the only discontent "I have, is to live where there is so little godliness and exercise of "religion, so dissolute manners and corrupt conversation generally "which I find to be worse than when I knew the place first." 1 August, 1582. Birch, i. 25.

[84] Nugæ Antiquæ, 166. April 4, 1595.

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by her father, the exercise of absolute authority by the sovereign, and the duty of passive obedience in the subject. The doctrine, with which the lord keeper Bacon opened her first parliament, was indefatigably inculcated by all his successors during her reign, that, if the queen consulted the two houses, it was through choice, not through necessity, to the end that her laws might be more satisfactory to her people, not that they might derive any force from their assent. She possessed by her prerogative whatever was requisite for the government of the realm. She could, at her pleasure, suspend the operation of existing statutes, or issue proclamations which should have the force of law. In her opinion the chief use of parliaments was to vote money, to regulate the minutiæ of trade, and to legislate for individual and local interests. To the lower house she granted, indeed, freedom of debate; but it was to be a decent freedom, the liberty of "saying aye or no;" and those who transgressed that decency were liable, as we have repeatedly seen, to feel the weight of the royal displeasure.[85]

Corruption of courts of justice.

A foreigner, who had been ambassador in England, informs us, that under Elizabeth the administration of justice was more corrupt than under her predecessors.[86] We have not the means

[85] D'Ewes, 460. 469. 640. 644. 646. 651. 675.

[86] Du Vair apud Carte, iii. 702.

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of instituting the comparison. But we know that in her first year the policy of Cecil substituted men of inferior rank in the place of the former magistrates; that numerous complaints were heard of their tyranny, peculation, and rapacity; and that a justice of the peace was defined in parliament to be "an animal, who, for half a "dozen chickens, would dispense with a dozen "laws:" nor shall we form a very exalted notion of the integrity of the higher courts, if we recollect that the judges were removeable at the royal pleasure, and that the queen herself was in the habit of receiving, and permitted her favourites and ladies to receive, bribes as the prices of her or their interference in the suites of private individuals.[87]

Arbitrary proceedings.

Besides the judicial tribunals, which remain to the present day, there were in the age of Elizabeth, several other courts, the arbitrary constitution of which was incompatible with the liberties of the subject; the court of high commission, for the cognizance of religious offences; the court of star-chamber, which inflicted the severest punishments for that comprehensive and undefinable transgression, contempt of the royal authority; and the courts martial, for which the queen, from her hasty and imperious temper, manifested a strong predilection. Whatever could be supposed to have the remotest tendency to sedition, was held to subject the

[87] D'Ewes, 661. Nugæ Antiquæ, i. 118, 119. Ellis, ii. 299.

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offender to martial law; the murder of a naval or military officer, the importation of disloyal or traitorous books, or the resort to one place of several persons who possessed not the visible means of subsistence. Thus in 1595, under the pretence that the vagabonds in the neighbourhood of London were not to be restrained by the usual punishments, she ordered sir Thomas Wyllford to receive from the magistrates the most notorious and incorrigible of these offenders, and "to execute them upon the gallows, "according to the justice of martial law."[88]

Imprisonment at her pleasure.

Another, and intolerable grievance, was the discretionary power assumed by the queen, of gratifying her caprice or resentment by the restraint or imprisonment of those who had given her offence. Such persons were ordered to present themselves daily before the council till they should receive further notice, or to confine themselves within their own doors, or were given in custody to some other person, or were thrown into a public prison. In this state they remained, according to the royal pleasure, for weeks, or months, or years, till they could obtain their liberty by their submission, or through the intercession of their friends, or with the payment of a valuable composition.

Extension of the law of treason.

The queen was not sparing of the blood of her subjects. The statutes inflicting death for religious opinion have been already noticed. In

[88] Rymer, xvi. 279. 280.

addition, many new felonies and new treasons were created during her reign; and the ingenuity of the judges gave to these enactments the most extensive application. In 1595 some apprentices in London conspired to release their companions, who had been condemned by the star-chamber to suffer punishment for a riot: in 1597 a number of peasants in Oxfordshire assembled to break down inclosures, and restore tillage: each of these offences, as it opposed the execution of the law, was pronounced treason by the judges; and both the apprentices in London, and the men of Oxfordshire, suffered the barbarous death of traitors.[89]

Subsidies and forced loans.

We are told that her parsimony was a blessing to the subject, and that the pecuniary aids voted to her by parliament were few and inconsiderable, in proportion to the length of her reign. They amounted to twenty subsidies, thirty tenths, and forty fifteenths. I know not how we are to arrive at the exact value of these grants: but they certainly exceed the average of the preceding reigns; and to them must be added the fines of recusants, the profits of monopolies, and the monies raised by forced loans: of which it is observed by Naunton, that "she left more debts unpaid, taken upon credit "of her privy seals, than her progenitors did "take, or could have taken up, that were a hun-"dred years before her."[90]

[89] Howell's State Trials, 1421.

[90] Naunton, p. 88.

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The historians, who celebrate the golden days of Elizabeth, have described with a glowing pencil, the happiness of the people under her sway. To them might be opposed the dismal picture of national misery, drawn by the catholic writers of the same period. But both have taken too contracted a view of the subject. Religious dissension had divided the nation into opposite parties, of almost equal numbers, the oppressors and the oppressed. Under the operation of the penal statutes, many ancient and opulent families had been ground to the dust: new families had sprung up in their place: and these, as they shared the plunder, naturally eulogized the system to which they owed their wealth and their ascendency. But their prosperity was not the prosperity of the nation: it was that of one half obtained at the expence of the other.

It is evident that neither Elizabeth nor her ministers understood the benefits of civil and religious liberty. The prerogatives which she so highly prized, have long since withered away: the bloody code which she enacted against the rights of conscience, has ceased to stain the pages of the statute-book: and the result has proved, that the abolition of despotism and intolerance adds no less to the stability of the throne, than to the happiness of the people.

NOTE [P], Pages 14 and 37.

WHETHER the letters produced by Murray at York and Westminster, were genuine or not, is a question which has given birth to a voluminous controversy. If the reader wish to see it treated at length, he may have recourse to Goodall, Tytler, Robertson, Hume, Stuart, Whitaker, and Laing. I shall only subjoin a few remarks.

1º. From the mere perusal of the letters, the reader would conclude that Bothwell and Mary were the only conspirators. If she were an accomplice, she must have known how deeply Maitland and Morton were concerned in the plot: and, yet, with respect to them, she is as guarded in the letters, as if they had been written by themselves. I observe the same in all the confessions taken before the conferences at York and Westminster. There Maitland and Morton are never mentioned. But after the conferences, Maitland deserted the party: the confession of Paris was taken; and here for the first time we meet with hints of the guilt of Maitland. All this wears the appearance of fraud.

2º. When the casket was exhibited before the English commissioners, it contained, besides letters, contracts, and sonnets, which Morton swore had been found in it at the time it first came into his possession. Yet in the preceding December nothing but letters were produced from it, either in the council or the parliament. How came the contracts and sonnets to be then suppressed, if they existed at all?

Mr. Laing pretends that the objection arises from ignorance. Englishmen are not aware that almost all kinds of writings were called letters in the Scottish dialect. But, admitting this, it may be asked, whether any writings but epistolary correspondence, were called "*privie* lettars." They were privy letters, on which the act of council, and the act of parliament, were founded.

3º. On the 4th of December, Murray and twenty-seven privy

counsellors described these letters as written and *subscribed* by the queen: ten days later the parliament represented them, not as subscribed at all by her, (nor was it ever afterwards pretended) but as "written halelie" (wholly) with her own hand. This alteration furnishes another cause to suspect fraud.

I shall not notice the answers of Hume and Robertson. Mr. Laing suggests that *and* is a mistake of the copyist for *or;* and that it was in the original "written or subscribed with her own "hand:" in the same manner as Murray and his associates, in their declaration make oath, that they are written *or* subscribed by her. (Goodall, ii. 92.)

This appears to me the best answer which has yet been given. It does not, however, entirely do away the difficulty. That some correction in the act of council was thought necessary, preparatory to its being laid before parliament, appears from the introduction of the word "halelie," and the omission of the word "subscribed;" and it should be observed that, in the passage quoted from Murray, the letters are expressly distinguished from the contracts and sonnets. No such distinction is to be found in the act of council.

4°. There is a strong chronological objection, which Mr. Laing labours in vain to remove. The two first letters are said to have been written on the 23d and 24th of January, and to have been answered from Edinburgh by Bothwell on the 24th and 25th. The last answer was written by him after dinner. Now, if we believe Murray's Diary, Bothwell left Edinburgh to go into Liddesdale, on the night of the 24th, and returned only on the 28th. Here is evidently a contradiction.

To solve the difficulty, Mr. Laing pretends that Bothwell did not leave Edinburgh till the evening of the 25th; that he then went in company with Maitland to consult Morton at Whittingham: and that they returned together on the 28th. To conceal their conference, it was thought best to say, that they had been into Liddesdale, and to antedate the time of their departure, on account of the greater length of the journey.

But, 1°. if this be true, what credit can be given to any documents produced by such witnesses? The men who could falsify the Diary to screen Morton and Maitland, might equally falsify letters to convict Mary. 2°. The whole is a fiction. The earl of Bedford, on the 23d, wrote to Elizabeth, that the meeting at Whittingham had already taken place. Of course the 25th is several days too late.

5°. Mary is represented as writing two of the letters, one on a very trifling subject, on the two nights that she remained at the house of Kirk-o'-field. This almost exceeds belief. Bothwell had but just left her; he was gone no further than his lodgings in Holyrood house; he would be in her company in the morning; and yet the queen, instead of retiring to rest, sits up to write to him letters of no consequence, and sends a servant after midnight to awaken him out of his sleep, and deliver them into his hands!

6°. If Mary wrote the letters at all, it would be in the French language. It has been proved beyond contradiction, that the French letters which we have, are not originals, but translations. This was thought a most victorious proof of the forgery. But Mr. Laing has victoriously refuted it, by shewing that our French letters are not copies of the original French letters, but, by the avowal of the editor, translations made by him from a Latin translation. The letters had been "traduites entierement en "Latin;" and the editor, "n'ayant connoisance de la langue "Escossoise, aima mieux exprimer tout ce qu'il avoit trouvé en "Latin." Apud Laing, i. 270. 'There is little probability, therefore, that the original French letters will ever be laid before the public. A copy of one only has been discovered and published by Laing from the state-paper office. (ii. 102.) It is one of the least important, No. IV. but much more intelligible than any of the translations, and of a nature to make us regret the loss of the others.

7°. For my own part I have little doubt that the letters were for the most part written by Mary. But, in this hypothesis, two

questions will arise, to which her adversaries will not be able to give satisfactory answers. 1°. To whom were they written? Those in the casket were exhibited without any address. For aught we know they might be written to different persons. Two of them appear to me to have been letters sent by her long before to Darnley. 2°. Were they originally written as they afterwards appeared? It was easy to collect several of the queen's letters, to omit some passages, alter others, insert hints here and there, and by describing them as written to Bothwell, and on particular occasions, to give to them a character of criminality, which they did not originally possess. This appears to me to have been the meaning of the queen's lords in their instructions, Sept. 12, 1568, where they say, that " in the writings " produced in parliament, there was no plain mention made, by " the which her highness might be convicted, albeit it were her " own hand writ, as it was not; and also the same was *culled* " *by themselves in some principal and substantious clauses.*"— Goodall, ii. 361. Laing, i. 208.

8°. We have before seen, that a copy of the Scottish translation had been furtively communicated to the queen before the conferences. Hence she was better prepared to instruct her commissioners. Her words to them are, " In case they allege they " have any writings of mine, which may infer presumption " against me in this case, you shall desire the principals (ori- " ginals) to be produced, and that I myself have inspection " thereof, and make answer thereto. For ye shall affirm in my " name, I never writ any thing concerning that matter to any " creature; and, if any such writings be, they are false and " feigned, forged and invented by themselves, only to my dis- " honour and slander: and there are divers in Scotland, both " men and women, that can counterfeit my hand-writing, and " write the like manner of writing which I use, as well as " myself, and principally such as are in company with them- " selves. And I doubt not, if I had remained in my own realm, " but I would have gotten knowledge of the inventors and

" writers of such writing ere now, to the declaration of my inno-
" cence, and confusion of their falsehood." Goodall, ii. 342.

NOTE [Q], Pages 54 and 59.

It must be admitted that both the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, and the chief of their followers, were catholics: that Morton had informed them of the papal process against Elizabeth, and of the sentence which in a short time would be published against her: and that in their proclamation at Durham, and in their applications for aid to foreign powers, they professed to have in view the restoration of the catholic worship.

This, however, was only a secondary object. They sought in the first place the liberation of the Scottish queen. All of them had been her partisans from her first arrival in England; they had lately undertaken to intercept Murray in his return from the conferences, and they were impatient advocates for her marriage with Norfolk. It was the decided opinion of Elizabeth, of her ministers, and of their own agents, that the restoration of religion was only a pretext to cover their real design, and to multiply their adherents. This will appear from the following quotations.

" It is very true that they only coloured outwardly their " rebellious attempts with a pretence of religion. It is well " known that the principal cause of that rebellion was wrought " (you will not say by the queen of Scots) but sure you are, by " her ministers both here and in Scotland, and by some of the " principal parties of the nobility in Scotland that do hate Roman " religion." Digges, 3. " She by her ministers entered into such " an intelligence with certain of our noblemen in the north part " of our realm, as they now since Michaelmas burst out into " open rebellion, making their outward show of intent to change " the state of religion contrary to the laws of our realm: but in " very deed, as manifestly it is to us more known and truly dis- " covered, their meaning was to set her up, not only in her " own country, but in this our realm." Ibid. 15. The queen writes to Sussex: " These rebels do make religion to be the

" shew of their enterprise, where in very deed, as yourself well " knoweth, their intention is grounded upon another devise." Haynes, 556. She desires Shrewsbury " to look to the person " of her, whom the world beholdeth to be the principal hidden " cause of these troubles." Haynes, 563. " The rebels make " religion the colour of their rebellion." Sadler, ii. 43. 55. " Their meaning was to have kept the Scots queen in England " after her deliverance, if they had been able, and if not, then to " have gone into Flanders or Scotland." Murdin, 64. Hamelyn, Northumberland's agent, says in his confession, " that the setting " up the mass was meant to provoke the people, but the principal " intent was to put the quene of Scots to liberty, and, as he " thinketh, to make her quene of England." Haynes, 596. Bishop wrote to Mary to stay the rebellion, because " he was re- " solved in his own opinion that the cause of the rebellion was " for the cause of the said Scots queen." Murdin, 216.

NOTE [R], Page 81.

During these conferences Morton received a letter from Frederick king of Denmark, directed to Lennox the Scottish regent. A captain Clark, who had formerly received a commission to levy soldiers for the Dane in Scotland, had been persuaded to aid, with the troops under his orders, the associated lords, when they met Mary and Bothwell on Carberry hill. Bothwell, who had fled to Denmark, remembered the injury, and revenged himself by some accusation, which he brought against Clark, perhaps on this very ground, that he had employed Danish soldiers against the Scottish queen. Both Elizabeth and Lennox wrote earnestly to Frederick in favour of the accused, and demanded that Bothwell should be sent to England or Scotland, that he might be punished for the murder of Darnley. (See the letters in Laing, ii. 331. 1569, 1570.) It was the answer of the king (January 20, 1571), sent by Thomas Buchanan, which fell into the hands of Morton. His anxiety to know the contents

induced him to open it: and he kept it by him nearly a month before he forwarded it to the regent. His excuse for opening it was, that "he judged some things might be specified in it "which it might be expedient to be remembered upon there" (in London): and for not sending it, his apprehensions that it might be intercepted, "for that he had no will the contents of "the same should be known, fearing that some words and "matters mentioned in the same being dispersed as news, "should rather have injured than furthered the cause." Elizabeth requested to see the letter: but he, pretending that he had sent the original away, gave her a copy, in which he omitted what he "thought not meet to be shewn." (March 24, 1571. Goodall, ii. 382.)

It is probable, that in this letter there was some account of Bothwell's defence of himself, implicating Morton, and perhaps vindicating Mary: for it was calculated "to hinder, not further "the cause." The letter was never seen afterwards: but it appears that the king refused to deliver up Bothwell, unless the English queen and the estates would bind themselves by solemn writings, which should be sent to Denmark against the 24th of August, that Bothwell should have a fair trial. Lennox (May 25) asked the advice of Elizabeth on this subject. With her answer we are not acquainted. Tytler, ii. 198—204.

I will here add, on the subject of Bothwell, a clause in the act of forfeiture against him, which was purposely omitted in the copy sent to Elizabeth. "In dicto mense Aprilis dilectos con-"siliarios nostros Georgium comitem de Huntlie cancellarium "nostrum, Wilelmum Maitland de Lethingtoun Juniorem secre-"tarium, secreti consilii ac sessionis dominos, quum alloquium "eorum amenter desideraret, quum nihil minus suspicarent, "captivos apprehendit, ac in dicto castro de Dunbar incarceravit "eos ad spacium decem dierum aut eocirca. detinendo eos, "assentire cogendo, saltem dicere quod assentiebant, ad pro-"movendum omnia sua proditoria et nepharia facinora, precipue "matrimonium pretensum inter eum et dictam charrissimam

" matrem nostram. Inde manifestissime crimen lese majestatis, " incurrendo, authoritatemque regiam in se acceptando, dictis " consiliariis nostris minime vocatis, aut pro ullo crimine arres- " tatis, nullam ad hoc commissionem habendo." Act. Parl. iii. p. 8. Hence it appears, that Huntley and Maitland were not dismissed the next morning, as I have asserted from Melville, but remained at Dunbar, probably in concert with Bothwell.

NOTE [S], Page 92.

It will, perhaps, be expected that I should mention the extraordinary case of Storey, doctor of civil law, and once an eminent speaker in parliament. He had gone abroad in Edward's reign, and returning in that of Mary, had been made assessor to Bonner during the persecution. In the house of commons he openly professed his disapprobation of the lenity shewn to the higher, and the severity practised towards the lower, classes. " If," he said, " you wish to destroy the tree, you should go to the root, " instead of lopping off the branches." This expression was afterwards construed as an allusion to Elizabeth; and Storey was confined for some years in the Tower. He escaped, obtained leave to go abroad, and settled in Flanders. Here poverty compelled the old man (he was in his sixty-seventh year) to accept a place in the customs: and during the non-intercourse between the two countries, under the administration of Alva, he had been instrumental in the seizure of some goods, belonging to English merchants. They, however, had their revenge. He was decoyed on board a vessel, brought to London and lodged in the Tower. After several examinations he was placed at the bar, ignorant of the specific charge against him (May 26, 1571). The indictment accused him of treason, for having written letters to excite the late rebellion in the north. If we may believe his protestations at Tyburn, and his last letter to his wife, the charge was groundless: but he refused to plead at all. The queen, he said, had discharged him from his allegiance, and he was become the

subject of another prince. When he was told that he was born in England, he replied, that every man is born free to leave a country, if he does not approve of its institutions. He had done so, and had sworn allegiance to Philip. Flanders was now his country: they had brought him thence by force, and were bound in justice to carry him back. His denial of allegiance was taken as a sufficient proof against him: and he received the judgment, and suffered the punishment, of a traitor (June 1). To me there appears more of revenge than of justice in his fate. Compare Camden, 243, the government account in Howell's State Trials, 1087—1096. Strype, ii. 82. and Bridgewater, 43.

NOTE [T], Page 115.

I had originally inserted in the text a narrative of this bloody transaction; but as it is not immediately connected with the history of England, I have since preferred to give it a place among the notes. The reader will observe that I have not adopted the usual hypothesis, that the massacre was the result of a premeditated plot, concealed, with infinite cunning, for the space of several months: but he may be assured, that my opinion was not formed till after a diligent perusal and comparison of the most authentic documents on the subject.

From the fall of the prince of Conde, the admiral Coligni had been the acknowledged leader of the French huguenots. He maintained accredited agents in most of the foreign courts, that had abandoned the ancient faith, and he ruled among his partizans at home with the authority of a sovereign prince. Monthly contributions for the support of "the cause" were poured into his treasury: officers, whose duty it was to execute his orders, were stationed in every province, and thousands of soldiers were always ready to hasten into the field at his call.[1] So powerful a noble-

[1] "Par les quels (his papers) il a apparu au roi, que ledit amiral avoit "etabli en seize provinces de son royaume, des gouverneurs, des chefs "de guerre, avec certain nombre de conseillers, qui avoient charge de

man, who had twice led his army against that of the crown, was naturally an object of jealousy to the administration: but he had of late obtained a considerable ascendency over the mind of the young king, by hinting suspicions of the designs of the queen mother, by exhorting Charles to take a more decided part in the government of the kingdom, and by proposing to him the conquest of the Netherlands, during the contest between the king of Spain and the insurgents. (May.) This project gratified the ambition of the young monarch: he allowed the admiral to furnish count Lewis of Nassau with five thousand Gascons to invade the county of Hainault:[2] was perpetually in his company, when he was at court; and if he were absent, maintained an active correspondence with him by letter. The queen mother began to tremble for her own power: she resolved, with the duke of Anjou, to dissuade her son from taking any part in the war in Flanders, and undertook to detach him from all connexion with the leader of the huguenots.

Since the assassination of the duke of Guise, Coligni had ventured but once to enter the city of Paris. He was at last drawn to that capital, by the invitation of Charles who wished him to be present at the marriage of his sister Margaret with the king of Navarre: by the solicitation of Elizabeth, who requested him to aid and instruct her ambassador; and chiefly, perhaps, by his own anxiety to promote his favourite project of a war against the duke of Alva. The ardour, with which it had been originally received by the king, had been lately cooled by the defeat of Janlis, one of the commanders of the insurgents, and by the warm remonstrances of Catharine. The admiral repeated his former arguments; offered the king an army of ten thousand huguenots; declared, that if he refused to aid the protestants in Flanders, those in France would again be compelled to take up

" tenir le peuple armé, le mettre ensemble et en armes aux premiers " mandemens de sa part, auxquelles etoit donné pouvoir de lever annuell- " ment sur les sujets de sa majesté notable somme de deniers." Bellievre, apud Caveirac.

[2] Digges, 204.

arms for their own safety:[3] and exhorted him to throw off the tutelage of an ambitious mother, who kept the sovereign in the back ground, that she might bring forward a favourite son, and perpetuate her own authority. These insinuations made a deep impression on the mind of Charles: his words and behaviour warned Catharine and the duke of their danger; and it was determined to remove the admiral, their most formidable enemy by assassination. As he returned through the city from the council (Aug. 22.) an arquebuss was discharged at him from an upper window. One ball shattered his hand, a second lodged in the shoulder. The wounds were not dangerous: but his partisans hastened in crowds to his house, and offered to spend their lives in his quarrel.

At the first news Charles burst into lamentations, which were succeeded by threats of vengeance. He proceeded to visit the admiral; and Catharine thought it prudent to accompany him with her two sons, and the chief officers of the court. They found the wounded man in bed: he requested to speak with the king in private, and Charles commanded his mother and brothers to remain at a distance, The queen afterwards acknowledged that these were the most painful moments that she ever experienced. Her consciousness of guilt, the interest with which her son listened to the admiral, the crowds of armed men in constant motion through the house, their looks, and whispers, and gestures, all conspired to fill her with terror. Unable to remain any longer in such a situation, she interrupted the conference, by pretending that silence and repose were necessary for the recovery

[3] This, though asserted by several French writers, appeared to me too insolent to deserve credit. I find it, however, confirmed by one of Walsingham's dispatches. "The gentlemen of the religion here have "made demonstration to the king, that the enterprise of the prince of "Orange, lacking good success, it shall not lie in his power to maintain "his edict. They, therefore, desire him to weigh, *whether it were better "to have foreign war with advantage, or inward war to the ruin of "himself and his estate.*" Digges, 226.

of the admiral. During her return in the same carriage with the king, she employed every artifice to draw from him the particulars of the conversation. He disclosed sufficient to add to her alarm.

After a restless night, Catharine spent the morning in anxious deliberation with the duke and her confidants: in the afternoon they communicated their determination to Charles. They reminded him of the two rebellions of the huguenots, and of the formidable power of the admiral: they observed that the man, who could offer a force of ten thousand armed men against the king of Spain, might at his pleasure employ the same number against the king of France: they informed him that the chiefs of the party were at that moment plotting the destruction of their adversaries; and, that if he were to wait till the next morning, his mother, brothers, and most faithful officers, perhaps he himself, would be sacrificed to their vengeance: they implored his permission to anticipate the cruelty of their enemies, and to wreak on Coligni and his friends, that destruction which *they* had prepared for others. The young king was subdued by the ascendency and entreaties of his mother: he struggled for some hours in favour of the admiral; and, at ten in the evening, retired in considerable agitation, exclaiming as he left the room, that he hoped no one would be left alive to reproach him afterwards with so foul a deed. Four hours had elapsed before the plan was arranged, and the necessary orders had been given: it wanted two more to the appointed time. To sleep in such circumstances was impossible: and the king, his mother and brothers, repaired to an open balcony, where they stood gazing at the stars, and waiting the result. A little before the time, the silence of the night was broken by the report of a pistol. They shuddered with horror: their resolution forsook them: and a messenger was dispatched with contrary orders. But the bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois tolled: the duke of Guise with three hundred men burst into the admiral's house: and the dead body

of that unfortunate chieftain was thrown from a window into the court:[4] the tocsin immediately rung from the parliament house: the duke of Nevers and the mashal de Tavannes, at the head of a troop of guards, rode through the streets crying "treason:" companies of armed citizens, under their respective leaders, hastened to the work of blood: and the populace, whose passions were excited by the example of their superiors, and the circulation of the most alarming reports, imitated and surpassed the cruelty of the original assassins.

Of the objects of their fury those who slept in the fauxbourg St. Germain, had sufficient time to escape: others, in different parts of the city found an asylum with their friends and relatives: but numbers of both sexes of every rank, not only those proscribed by the court, but many in the lowest situations in life, and in several instances catholics as well as protestants, were immolated to the undistinguishing vengeance of the mob. It was not till the afternoon, that Charles by sound of trumpet ordered every man to return to his home, and to abstain from deeds of violence, under the penalty of death.[5] The massacre had been infinitely more extensive than had been foreseen: even its original projectors stood aghast at the multitude of the slain.

[4] These particulars are taken from the narrative of the duke of Anjou, with a few additional circumstances from the Memoirs of queen Margaret, and those of Tavannes. All three were in the Louvre at the time: and two of them were among the devisers of the massacre. Those who believe that this bloody event had been planned six months before (an hypothesis unsupported by contemporary authority, and almost irreconcileable with the intermediate events), will say that the duke had an interest in diminishing the odium of the transaction. But a perusal of the document will shew, that it has all the appearance of truth, that it is the work, not of one who seeks to excuse, but who fairly accuses himself. It was written by Miron, his physician, to whom the duke, during a restless night, when his conscience was harassed by the recollection of the massacre, unbosomed himself. See Caveirac, xvi.—xxi. I may add, that Matheu asserts the same, concluding with these words: "J'ai ecrit plus au long, et je crois plus veritablement que nul "autre ce qui s'est passé en cette journée, parceque je l'ai appris de "ceux mêmes qui furent au conseil, et à l'execution." Hist. de Charles IX. Tom. i. p. 347. fol. Paris, 1631.

[5] "A diverses fois le Roi itera vers le son les premieres defences à "tout homme sous peine de vie, &c." La Popelinière, ii. 67.

The same day dispatches were forwarded to the governors of the provinces, ordering them to prevent the repetition of such horrors, and to forbid all persons, under the peril of capital punishment, to take up arms and insult others.[6] Subsequent events, however, gave rise to a suspicion that these orders were but a feint. The bloody scenes at Paris were repeated at Orleans, Lyons, Rouen, Toulouse, and Bourdeaux: and the sufferers believed that as they were not protected, they were persecuted by the commands of the court. But the memory of Charles needs not be loaded with additional infamy. There is no evidence that the other massacres had his sanction or permission: and when we consider that they happened at very different periods,[7] and were confined to the places in which the blood of catholics had been wantonly spilt during the preceding insurrections,[8] we shall attribute them rather to sudden ebullitions of popular vengeance than to any previously concerted and general plan. Of the number of the victims in all these towns it is impossible to speak with certainty. Among the huguenot writers, Perefix reckons 100,000, Sully 70,000, Thuanus 30,000, La Popelinière 20,000, the reformed martyrologist 15,000, and Masson 10,000. But the martyrologist adopted a measure, which may enable us to form a probable conjecture. He procured from the ministers in the different towns, where massacres had taken place, lists of the names of the persons, who had suffered, or were supposed to have suffered. He published the result in 1582; and the reader will be surprised to learn that in all France he could discover the names of no more than 786 persons. Perhaps, if we double that number, we shall not be far from the real amount.[9]

[6] See those to Chabot and Montpezat in Memoires de l'etat sous Charles IX. Tom. iii. p. 214, 215. 12mo. Meidlebourg, 1578: and that to Joyeuse in Caveirac, dissertation sur la S. Barthelmi, xxxii.

The dates are as follow: Paris, Aug. 24. Meaux, 25. La Charité, 26. Orleans, 27.. Saumur and Angers, 29. Lyons, 30. Troyes, Sep. 2. Bourges 11. Rouen, 17. Romans 20. Toulouse, 23. Bourdeaux, Oct. 3.

[8] Nismes was an exception. Though the catholics of that city had been twice massacred in cold blood, as lately as the years 1567 and 1569, they remained quiet on this occasion. Menard, Histoire de Nismes, v. 9. 50. 4to Paris, 1750.

[9] Caveira, Dissertation xxxviii.

NOTE [U,] Page 175.

The following were the kinds of torture chiefly employed in the Tower.

1º. The rack was a large open frame of oak, raised three feet from the ground. The prisoner was laid under it, on his back, on the floor: his wrists and ancles were attached by cords to two rollers at the ends of the frame: these were moved by levers in opposite directions, till the body rose to a level with the frame. Questions were then put; and, if the answers did not prove satisfactory, the sufferer was stretched more and more till the bones started from their sockets.

2º. The scavenger's daughter was a broad hoop of iron, so called, consisting of two parts, fastened to each other by a hinge. The prisoner was made to kneel on the pavement, and to contract himself into as small a compass as he could. Then the executioner, kneeling on his shoulders, and having introduced the hoop under his legs, compressed the victim close together till he was able to fasten the extremities over the small of the back. The time allotted to this kind of torture was an hour and a half, during which time it commonly happened that from excess of compression the blood started from the notrils; sometimes, it was believed, from the extremities of the hands and feet. See Bartoli, 250.

3º. Iron gauntlets, which could be contracted by the aid of a screw. They served to compress the wrists, and to suspend the prisoner in the air, from two distant points of a beam. He was placed on three pieces of wood, piled one on the other, which, when his hands had been made fast, were successively withdrawn from under his feet. "I felt," says F. Gerard, one of the sufferers, "the chief pain in my breast, belly, arms, and hands. "I thought that all the blood in my body had run into my arms, "and began to burst out of my finger ends. This was a mistake,

" but the arms swelled, till the gauntlets were buried within the " flesh. After being thus suspended an hour, I fainted: and " when I came to myself, I found the executioners supporting " me in their arms: they replaced the pieces of wood under my " feet; but as soon as I was recovered, removed them again. " Thus I continued hanging for the space of five hours, during " which I fainted eight or nine times." Apud Bartoli, 418.

4°. A fourth kind of torture was a cell called "little ease." It was of so small dimensions, and so constructed, that the prisoner could neither stand, walk, sit, or lie in it at full length. He was compelled to draw himself up in a squatting posture, and so remained during several days.

I will add a few lines from Rishton's Diary, that the reader may form some notion of the proceedings in the Tower.

Dec. 5, 1580. Several catholics were brought from different prisons.

Dec. 10. Thomas Cottam and Luke Kirbye, priests (two of the number), suffered compression in the scavenger's daughter for more than an hour. Cottam bled profusely from the nose.

Dec. 15. Ralph Sherwine and Robert Johnson, priests, were severely tortured on the rack.

Dec. 16. Ralph Sherwine was tortured a second time on the rack.

Dec. 31. John Hart, after being chained five days to the floor, was led to the rack. Also Henry Orton, a lay gentleman.

1581. Jan. 3. Christopher Thompson, an aged priest, was brought to the Tower, and racked the same day.

Jan. 14. Nicholas Roscaroc, a lay gentleman, was racked.

Thus he continues till June 21, 1585, when he was discharged. See his Diarium, at the end of his edition of Sanders.

NOTE [V], Pages 183 and 226.

Campian and Persons had obtained from Gregory XIII. a declaration that that part of the bull of Pius V., which forbade any

person to pay obedience to Elizabeth, should not bind the English catholics in existing circumstances, or till the sentence could be put in execution. (Camden, 348. Philopater, 169.) From this it was inferred, with some appearance of reason, that both missionaries admitted the deposing power: and that, in an attempt to enforce the bull, they would join the enemies of the queen. It is, however, fair to hear what they and their friends said in their behalf; that they disapproved of the bull; and would have procured its revocation, if it had been possible; but, according to the custom of the court of Rome, no censure could be revoked, except at the petition of the party censured. They endeavoured therefore, to do the only thing in their power; they procured it to be mitigated in the manner mentioned above; and they trusted that in this, they had done an acceptable service to the queen. For hitherto she professed to doubt the loyalty of her catholic subjects, on account of the bull; now she could have no fear on that head, except in case of an actual attempt to enforce it; a case which in all probability would never arrive. The bull of Clement VII. against Henry VIII. had died away unnoticed, that of Pius against Elizabeth would do the same, if the English council would only permit it. State Trials, 1057. Allen, Defence, c. iv. This declaration, which was not known till after the death of Campian, gave birth to the six queries put to the missionaries respecting their opinions on the deposing power, and their future behaviour in the event of an attempt to execute the bull. There is some reason to suspect that the answers were not correctly given in the report published by authority: but there can be no doubt that most of them were evasive and unsatisfactory. The following is the account, which Campian gives of his own answer to questions of the same import.

" The self same articles (as had been put to him by the queen) " were required of me by the commissioners, but I was much " more urged to the point of supremacy, and to further supposals, " than I could think of. I said, indeed, they were bloody ques- " tions, and very pharisaical, undermining of my life; where-

" unto I answered as Christ did to the dilemma; Give unto " Cæsar that is due to Cæsar, and to God that to God belongeth! " I acknowledged her highness as my governess and sovereign. " I acknowledged her majesty both *de facto et de jure* to be " queen. I confessed an obedience due to the crown, as to my " temporal head and primate. This I said then, this I say now. " If, then, I failed in ought, I am now ready to supply it. What " would you more? I willingly pay to her majesty what is " her's; yet I must pay to God what is his. Then, as for ex- " communicating her majesty, it was exacted of me, admitting " that excommunication were of effect, and that the pope had " sufficient authority so to do, whether then I thought myself " discharged of my allegiance or no? I said this was a danger- " ous question, and they that demanded this, demanded my " blood. But I never admitted any such matter; neither ought " to be wrested with any such suppositions. What then, say " they, because I would not answer flatly to that I could not, " forsooth I sought corners; mine answers were aloof. Well; " since once more it must needs be answered, I say generally, " that these matters be merely spiritual points of doctrine, and " disputable in the schools; no part of mine indictment, not to " be given in evidence, and unfit to be discussed at the king's " bench. To conclude, they are no matters of fact; they be " not in the trial of the country; the jury ought not to take " notice of them; for although I doubt not but they are very " discreet men, and trained up in great use and experience of " controversies and debates, pertinent to their callings, yet they " are laymen, they are unfit judges to decide so deep a question." (Howell, 1062.)

I have inserted this answer at full length, for two reasons:

1°. It contradicts the account published by government: that, when he was asked "whether he did at that present, acknow- " ledge her majesty to be a true and lawful queen, or a pre- " tended queen, and deprived, and in possession of the crown " only *de facto*, he answered, that question depended on the

" fact of Pius V., whereof he was not judge, and therefore re-
" fused further to answer." (Howell, 1078.) 2°. It shews that the real question between the government and the prisoners was not, that they denied the queen's right, and strove to withdraw her subjects from their allegiance (for they acknowledged her " to be their sovereign both *de facto* and *de jure*, and that obe-
" dience was due to her as their temporal head and primate," but whether, in certain hypothetical cases, the pope possessed the power to depose princes. Three answered in the negative; two candidly confessed that, in their opinion, he had; the others are said to have refused to answer, or to have replied that the question was a matter of dispute among the learned, and that they were unable to pronounce, either one way or the other.

The innocence of the sufferers as to the treason for which they had been condemned, was believed by numbers. Their death was attributed to hatred of their religion; and, to relieve the government from the odium of persecution, lord Burleigh published a tract, entitled; " The execution of justice for main-
" tenance of public and christian peace against the stirrers of " sedition, &c." (It is printed in Somers's Tracts, i. 192.) He maintained that all were spared, who were willing to renounce their treasons; and those only put to death, who would not disavow the pope's bull, by which all the queen's subjects were discharged from their allegiance. Dr. Allen replied by " A true,
" sincere and modest defence of christian catholics, that suf-
" fered for their faith at home and abroad, &c." It was easy for him to shew, that many had been put to death, to whom no other treason had been objected, but that of exercising the functions of the priesthood; and that thousands had been fined, imprisoned, and despoiled of all their property, for no other offence but the practice of religious worship. He maintained, that the companions of Campian had not been guilty of the treason for which they suffered: and that the answers they had given to the six queries, ought to have been deemed satisfactory. He observed that the deposing power, and the validity of the bull

of Pius V. were subjects never allowed to be debated in the seminaries, or by the missionaries in England; that it was unwise in the government to bring them into public discussion; but since it had been done, he was not unwilling to give his own opinion. The real question was this; could subjects lawfully rise against their prince in defence of their religion? That they could, was plain: 1°. from the authority of Calvin, Beza, Zwingle, Goodman, Knox, Luther, and the Magdeburgh divines, whose opinions he transcribed; 2°. from the conduct of the reformers in Scotland, in France, and in the Netherlands; and 3°. from the conduct of Elizabeth herself, who would never have aided with money and troops the Scottish, French, and Flemish insurgents, had she not been persuaded that rebellion was lawful in the cause of religion. This being established, he proceeds to inquire if it be more for the common good of society, that the decision of the fact, whether the grievance is such as to authorize resistance by force, should be left to the judgment of the people aggrieved, or of the pope, the common father of all. Of course he maintains the latter part of the alternative; and then endeavours to support it by the authority of two catholic divines, of the council of Lateran, and of examples from the Old Testament. Allen, Defence, c. iv.

To suppress this tract, Aldfield, who had brought to England a number of copies, was prosecuted on a charge of high treason. In the indictment, several passages were transcribed (some of them very unfairly:) wherever Allen spoke of kings in general, the inuendo charged him with meaning the queen in particular, and it was contended, that the object of the work was to raise rebellion in the realm, and to procure the dethronement of the sovereign. Aldfield suffered the death of a traitor. See the indictment in Strype, iii. App. 121.

At the same time another catholic clergyman of the name of Bishop, a zealous missionary, maintained the contrary doctrine. Assuming that the prisoners had suffered themselves to be deceived by the authority of the council of Lateran, he under-

took to shew that the celebrated canon of that council was in reality a private decree of Innocent III., that it had never been acknowledged in England, and that no canons whatever had been published by the council itself. Camden, 380. Shortly afterwards, another of the name of Wright, maintained the same opinion. Strype, iii. 251.

NOTE [W], Page 207.

If we may believe Camden, in 1583 the discontent of the catholics induced them to print books, in which they exhorted the queen's maids to treat her, as Judith treated Holofernes. (Camden, 411.) If this were true, they could not have devised a plan more likely to defeat its own object.

The book to which he alludes, was "a Treatise of Schisme, by "Gregorie Martin, Licentiate in Divinitie, Duaci, apud Joan- "nem Foulcrum, 1578." In the second chapter the author enumerates from the Old Testament, instances of persons, who had refused to participate in any kind of worship which they deemed unlawful. The third instance is that of Tobias: for the fourth he proceeds thus: "Judith foloweth, whose godlye and constant "wisedom, if our catholike gentlewomen would folowe, they "might destroye Holofernes, the master heretike, and amase all "his retinew, and never defile their religion by communicating "with them in anye smale poynt. She came to please Holo- "fernes, but yet in her religion she would not yeelde so muche "as to eate of his meates, but brought of her owne with her, "and told him plainelye, that being in his house, yet she must "serve her Lorde and God stil, desiring for that purpose libertie "once a-day to goe in and out of the gate. 'I may not eate "'of that which thou commandest me, lest I incurre God's dis- "'pleasure.'"

In 1580, this book was reprinted by William Carter, who, in 1583, was indicted of treason, in as much as by the publication

he had imagined the death of the queen and the subversion of the reformed church. At his trial the passage quoted above was that alleged against him. By Holofernes, the master heretic, was understood, so the crown lawyers contended, the queen, and by the destruction of Holofernes, was intended the queen's death. Carter replied, 1°. By protesting before God, that he had never taken the passage in that sense, nor ever known it to be so taken by others. 2°. By asserting that every impartial man must see, that it had a very different meaning. The whole object of the author was to warn his brethren against the sin of schism. For this purpose he advised the catholic gentlewomen to imitate Judith; as she abstained from profane meats, so ought they to abstain from all communication with others in a worship which they believed to be schismatical. By doing this, they would destroy Holofernes. The expression was metaphorical. By Holofernes was meant Satan, the author of heresy, and the enemy of their salvation, whom they would overcome by their constancy in their religion, and their rejection of a schismatical service. But Carter's reasoning was not admitted; and he suffered as a traitor. (Bridgewater, 127—134.) After an attentive perusal, of the whole tract, I cannot find in it the smallest foundation for the charge.

NOTE [X], Pages 216 and 230.

I may here collect a few miscellaneous notices respecting the history of Mary at this period.

1°. When the earl of Shrewsbury obtained leave to visit the court for the twofold purpose of vindicating his character from the aspersions of his wife and two sons, and of procuring his discharge from the ungracious office of guarding the Scottish queen, Mary was intrusted to the custody of sir Ralph Sadler. A little before, an event occurred, which gave her much uneasiness. Topcliffe, the noted persecutor of the catholics, had given out, that the captive queen had borne two children to her

keeper, lord Shrewsbury. The countess, who had quarrelled with her husband, countenanced, if she did not propagate, the slander; and it was repeated in foreign courts, as founded on her authority. Mary wrote in the strongest terms, vindicating herself, and requiring that the countess should be compelled to state her reasons for making the charge, or to acknowledge that it was false. (Jan. 2, 1584. Jebb, ii. 557.) Elizabeth appears to have granted the request; for there still remains in the Paper-office a declaration upon oath by the countess and her sons, that they consider the report scandalous, malicious and false, and that they were neither the authors, nor propagators of it. (Chalmers, i. 374. note.)

2°. It was, I conceive, on this occasion, that Mary wrote the celebrated letter in Murdin, 558—560, in answer to one from Elizabeth, who had required from her a faithful account of whatever lady Shrewsbury had said in her hearing to the prejudice of Elizabeth's character. The Scottish queen complied; and related, without much ceremony, a number of facts, or pretended facts, which the countess in conversation had produced, as proofs of the vanity, the irascible temper, and the amours of the queen. For this letter she has been severely censured by some writers, who have attributed it to passion and revenge, while others have represented the charges contained in it as false and calumnious. To the first, it may be replied, that the letter was written in obedience to the wish of Elizabeth; to the second, that in almost every particular it is confirmed by other authorities.

3°. Mary in another letter, published in the life of lord Egerton, gives a most dismal description of her residence at Tutbury. The house, built of wood, and originally designed for a hunting box, was in a most ruinous state. It was situated on a high hill, exposed to every wind, and surrounded by a lofty wall, which in a great measure excluded the sun. She had two small rooms, petites chambrettes, allotted for herself and her maids; the walls were pierced with fissures; the plaister in many places

had separated from the timber; and though they intrenched themselves behind screens, curtains, and blankets, they were always ill with colds. She had no place where she could walk under cover in the house; and no room, to which she could retire, but two little closets, petits trous, about seven feet square, looking on the wall. The house was crowded with servants, guards, &c. without any convenience for so numerous a family; the privies under her window caused a most noisome smell, and were emptied every Saturday. In short it was such a place, that no lord of the realm, not even one of those enemies of hers, who, less than lords, sought to make her less than themselves, that would not deem it a most tyrannical punishment, to be compelled to live in it one year in the manner they forced her to live there. Egerton, p. 6.

4° In a letter to Elizabeth, having observed that the murder of the young man at Tutbury was owing to puritanical zeal, and that the same zeal was urged by personal interest to seek her death, she proceeds thus, "When I compare the advice which "has been so often given to you to take my life, with the recent "proceedings in parliament which where checked only by you, "and the object of the association, which is in truth a covert con- "spiracy to massacre me, and all of my religion, I beg of you, "madam, with clasped hands, to free me from this long and miser- "able captivity. Name the conditions; I will submit to them, "whatever they may be, provided my conscience be safe; if my "past offers are not sufficient for your security, take from me "all right to the succession. I am content. I have no doubt of "*your* sincerity and truth. Yet when they have murdered me "without your knowledge, who can repair the injury to me? "You say they will not commit an action so unjust, so degrading "to their characters. But who among them will believe, that "he has acted unjustly or disgracefully, when he has only done "that which he has sworn to do by the association? Parry's "confession, though Parry I am told was formerly their spy, "will to them be a sufficient justification. Consider to what

" this oligarchical conspiracy may ultimately lead. I have al-
" ways condemned it, though I too have voluntarily bound my-
" self to labour for your security, which is not less dear to me
" than to any of your subjects.—And here allow me to observe,
" that to prosecute, as you do, the catholics for conscience sake,
" must be dangerous to yourself. When men are urged to
" despair, no one can calculate the consequences. You told my
" secretary that you never meant to prosecute any man for his
" religion only; and in the first years of your reign, while you
" observed this maxim, you were never troubled with con-
" spiracies against you. For God's sake, madam, keep this holy
" resolution, worthy of you, worthy of all of your rank. The pre-
" sent age has sufficiently proved, in every part of christendom,
" that human force cannot prevail against conscience. For my
" part, if my religion be that at which my enemies aim, I am
" ready by the grace of God to bow my neck under the axe, to
" shed my blood in the face of all christian nations. I shall
" esteem it a happiness to be the first victim. This is not an
" empty boast: you know that I am not out of danger."—
Jebb, ii. 582.

NOTE [Z], Page 272.

I do not think that the charge against the Scottish queen carries with it any great appearance of improbability. It is very possible that a woman who had suffered an unjust imprisonment of twenty years, and was daily harassed with the fear of assassination, might conceive it lawful to preserve her own life and liberty by the death of her oppressor. But the real question is, not what she might have thought, but whether she actually gave her consent and approbation to the scheme of murder, submitted to her in the name of Babington.

It must be confessed that her accusers made out apparently a strong case against her. They produced the copy of a letter, said to have been written by her order, in which she approved of the projected assassination; the confession of Babington that he

received such a letter with her signature; and the attestations of her two secretaries, that they had written such a letter by her command.

When, however, we recollect the artful manner in which Walsingham had conducted the whole intrigue, and the disadvantages under which the Scottish queen laboured at her trial, we shall see abundant reason to doubt the validity of this proof.

1°. She always denied that the passage in approbation of the murder proceeded from her, or that she ever in any manner consented to the death of the queen, or even wished it. This she asserted at the trial: this she repeated upon oath at Fotheringay; and this she re-asserted at her death.

2°. The original letter was never produced. Yet it most probably remained in the hands of Walsingham. We know that it had been copied, and not only copied but also falsified, in his office. This circumstance alone seems to shew that the copy produced at the trial was unworthy of credit.

3°. In the letter attributed to her, she is made to advise the conspirators, 1. That they make all the preparation in their power to join the invading army: 2. That, as soon as the six gentlemen have accomplished their design of murdering the queen, she may be delivered out of prison: 3. That on her delivery she may be placed in the midst of a large army, or in some strong hold, because if the queen should catch her again, she would probably take her life. But how could Elizabeth catch her again, if Elizabeth were already assassinated? May it not be fairly inferred, that the mention of the murder is an interpolation, while the other parts were written by the order of Mary.

4°. The Scottish queen was accustomed to keep rough copies of her letters. Many were found among her papers, but none of the letter to Babington. A minute of it, however, made by Nau for his own use, was discovered among his papers. That minute was favourable to Mary, as it contained no vestige of the controverted passage.

5°. But the word "coup," or stroke, was in Nau's minute; and this, it was contended by the enemies of Mary, must have meant the murder of Elizabeth. When, however, we look into the letter itself and take it with the context, it evidently refers to the invasion of the realm.

6°. According to the account given by her secretaries, Nau drew the answer to Babington in French, and read it to Mary, who approved of it. Curle translated it into English, and having read his translation to Nau, put it into cipher. From this account it appears that Mary never saw the letter. Nau might have inserted the passage respecting the murder, and yet have designedly omitted to read it to his mistress. She, it should be recollected, always accused him of being the author of her death.

7°. Some passages have been adduced from her correspondence with Morgan and Paget, to shew that she had approved of Babington's plan. But to me they do not appear conclusive. They might equally have been written, whether she had, or had not, been acquainted with the intended murder.

8°. It is plain that, to unravel the mystery, Nau and Curle should have been confronted with her. For that purpose Elizabeth had ordered them to attend; Mary required them to be produced; and yet the ministers kept them back. Does not this furnish a strong presumption in favour of the queen of Scots? There was something in the business, which Walsingham was conscious would not bear the light.

NOTE [A A], Page 275.

Mary's letter to Sixtus V. dated the 23d of November, 1586, is still preserved in the archives of the Vatican. It is in French. An Italian translation has been published by Tempesti, Vita e Geste di Sisto Quinto, i. 311, and an abstract of it by Becchetti, xii. 377.

In this letter she assures the pontiff, that she had that very day been ordered to prepare herself for death by the lord Buck-

hurst and others; and that it was her intention, if she were allowed to see her almoner, or a catholic priest, to comply with the usual forms established in the catholic church. This, however, she expected would be refused her: and she therefore now confessed herself a sinner at his feet, and implored the mercy of God on her soul. She then continues in this pious strain; "Entre laquelle (mon ame) et la justice de Dieu, j'entrepose le "sang de Jesus Christ, pour moy crucifié et toutz les pecheurs, "l'une des plus execrables desquelz je me confesse estre, veu les "graces infinies par luy recues, par moy mal recognoncées et "employées: ce qui me rend indigne de pardon, si sa promesse "faicte à touts ceulz chargés de pechés et afflictions spirituelles "d'estre par luy assistez, et sa misericorde ne m'enhardissoient, "suivant son commandement de venir vers luy, portant ma "charge afin d'estre par luy deschargée, á l'exemple de l'enfant "prodigue, et, qui plus est, offrant aux pieds de sa croix volen-"tierement mon sang pour la maintien, et fidelle zele que je "porte á son Englise, sans la restauration de laquelle, je ne desire "jamais vivre en ce monde."

She proceeds to recommend to the pontiff the conversion of her son to the catholic faith, for which purpose she wishes him to employ the co-operatiou of the king of Spain, the only prince who has really aided her during her captivity. If James should continue obstinate, she leaves all her right to the crown of England to the disposal of the pope and of that monarch. Should he repent, she requires of him to look on Philip, and the princes of the house of Guise, as his nearest relatives; and hopes, as the last blessing she can wish for upon earth, that he may marry the infanta of Spain.

I have called the reader's attention to this letter for the following reason. For many years after the death of Mary, it was believed that the queen, on the eve of her execution, made a will, by which she left the kingdom of England to Philip of Spain, in case her son did not become a catholic; and that cardinal Laurea, and Lewis Owen, bishop of Cassano, had attested that

it was in the hand writing of the queen. This will, however, could never be discovered. (Butler's Memoirs, iii. 265. Burnet, iii. rec. 711.) In my opinion, there can be little doubt that the report arose from misconception, and that the real will was this letter, in which she leaves the disposal of her right to that monarch and the pontiff; and what confirms this conjecture is, that at the end of it, there is subjoined an attestation of Lewis Owen, bishop of Cassano, that the hand writing is that of Mary, queen of Scots.

NOTE [B B], Page 335.

In the present note I purpose to give some account of this tract, which every writer on the armada is careful to mention, though few of them ever had it in their hands. A numerous edition was printed at Antwerp, to be distributed in England at the moment of the invasion: but the invasion did not take place, and care was taken to burn almost all the copies. Hence the book is become extremely scarce. The title is, an "Admo-"nition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland, con-"cerninge the present warres made for the execution of his "holines sentence, by the highe and mightie kinge catholicke of "Spaine, by the cardinal of Englande. Anno MDLXXXVIII."

It begins thus: "Gulielmus miseratione divina S. R. E. tituli "Sancti Martini in Montibus Cardinalis Presbyter, de Anglia "nuncupatus, cunctis regnorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ proceribus, "populis, et personis, omnibusque Christi fidelibus salutem in "Domino sempiternam." After a short preface, it undertakes to shew, 1°. Of whom and in what manner Elizabeth is descended; 2°. How intruded into the royal dignity; 3°. How she has behaved at home and abroad; 4°. By what laws of God and man her punishment is pursued; 5°. How just, honest, and necessary causes, all true Englishmen have to embrace and set forward the same.

1°. She is a bastard, the daughter of Henry VIII., by his incestuous commerce with Anne Boleyn.

2°. She was intruded by force, unjustly deposing the lords of the clergy, without whom no lawful parliament could be held, nor statute made; and without any approbation of the see of Rome, contrary to the accord made by king John, at the special request and procurement of the lords and commons, as a thing necessary to preserve the realm from the unjust usurpation of tyrants.

3°. As to her behaviour, she has professed herself a heretic. She usurpeth, by Luciferian pride, the title of supreme ecclesiastical government, a thing in a woman unheard of, not tolerable to the masters of her own sect, and to all catholics in the world most ridiculous, absurd, monstrous, detestable, and a very fable to the posterity.

She is taken and known for an incestuous bastard, begotten and born in sin, of an infamous courtezan, Anne Bolcyn, afterwards executed for advoutery, treason, heresy, and incest, among others with her own natural brother, which Anne Boleyn her father kept by pretensed marriage in the life of his lawful wife, as he did before unnaturally know and kepe both the said Anne's mother and sister.

She is guilty of perjury in violating her coronation oath.

She hath abolished the catholic religion—profaned the sacraments — forbidden preaching—impiously spoiled the churches, deposed and imprisoned the bishops, and suppressed the monasteries.

She hath destroyed most of the ancient nobility, putting into their houses and chambers, traitors, spials, delators, and promoters, that take watch for her of all their ways, words, and writings.

She hath raised a new nobility of men base and impure, inflamed with infinite avarice and ambition.

She hath intruded a new clergy of the very refuse of the worst sort of mortal men.

She hath made the country a place of refuge for atheists, anabaptists, heretics, and rebels of all nations.

She hath polled the people, not only by more frequent and large subsidies than any other princes, but by sundry shameful guiles of lotteries, laws, decrets, falls of money, and such like deceits.

She sells laws, licences, dispensations, pardons, &c. for money and bribes, with which she enriches her poor cousins and favourites. Among the latter is Leicester, whom she took up first to serve her filthy lust; whereof to have more freedom and interest, he caused his own wife to be murdered, as afterwarde, for the accomplishment of his like brutish pleasures with another noble dame, it is openly known he made away with her husband. This man over-ruleth the chamber, court, council, parliament, ports, forts, seas, ships, tenders, men, munition, and all the country.

With the aforesaid person, and with divers others, she hath abused her bodie against God's lawes, to the disgrace of princely majestie, and the whole nation's reproche, by unspeakable and incredible variety of luste, which modesty suffereth not to be remembered, neyther were it to chaste eares to be uttered how shamefully she hath defiled and infamed her person and cuntry, and made her court as a trappe, by this damnable and detestable art to intangle in sinne, and overthrowe the yonger sorte of the nobilitye and gentlemen of the lande; wherebye she is become notorious to the worlde, and in other cuntryes a common fable for this her turpitude, which in so highe degre, namely in a woman and a queene, deservethe not onlie deposition, but all vengeance, both of God and man, and cannot be tollerated without eternal infamie of our whole countrie, the whole worlde deriding our effeminate dastardie, that have suffered such a creature almost thirty years together to raigne both over our bodies and soules, and to have the chief regiment of al our affaires, as wel spirituall as temporal, to the extinguishinge not onely of religion, but of all chaste livinge and honesty.

She does not marry, because she cannot confine herself to one man; and to the condemnation of chaste and lawful marriage she forced the very parliament to give consent to a law, that

none should be named for her successor, savinge the natural, that is to saie, bastard-borne child of her owne bodie (it here alludes "to her unlawfull, longe concealed, or *fained* issue").

She confederates with rebels of all nations, and is known to be the first and principal fountain of all those furious rebellions in Scotland, France, and Flandres: sending abroad by her ministers, as is proved by intercepted letters and confessions, numbers of intelligencers, spies, and practisers, in most princes' courts, not only to give notice of news, but to deal with the discontented, and hath sought to destroy the persons of the pope's holiness and the king of Spain.

She is excessively proud, obstinate, and impenitent, though she has been excommunicated eighteen years.

She hath murdered bishops, and priests, and the queen of Scots.

4°. Having noticed several instances of the deposition of kings in the old testament, and the excommunication of emperors by different popes, it observes that the sentence given by Pius V. hath not been pursued, partly on account of his death, and partly on account of her great power. But her perseverance in sin, her persecution of the catholics, and her aiding of rebels, have induced Sixtus V. to intreat Philip of Spain, to take upon him this sacred and glorious enterprise, to which he hath consented, moved by his own zeal, by the authority of his holiness, and by the cardinal's humble and continual sute for the delivery of his countrymen.

The fifth part I need not analyze. Its contents may be found in Fuller, l. ix. p. 196, and in Mr. Butler's Memoirs, iii. 213. At the end is given the date.—From my lodginge in the palace of St. Peter in Rome, this 28th of Aprill, 1588. The Cardinall.

The author of this most offensive tract seems to have studied the works, and to have acquired the style, of the exiles who, formerly, at Geneva, published libels against queen Mary, the predecessor of Elizabeth. Who that author was, soon became a subject of discussion. The language and the manner are cer-

tainly not like those of Allen in his acknowledged works; and the appellant priests boldly asserted that the book was "penned altogether by the advice of F. Persons." Persons himself, in his answer, though he twice notices the charge, seems by his evasions to acknowledge its truth. (Manifestation, 35. 47.) But whoever were the real author, the cardinal, by subscribing his name, adopted the tract for his own, and thus became answerable for its contents.

It is, however, but justice to add, that we have in Strype, (iv. 144.) a letter from him, preserved by Cecil, in a very different style. It arose out of a communication from Hopkins, an English agent, that the queen was desirous of peace, and not unwilling to grant some sort of toleration. The cardinal expresses his joy at the news: it is what he has been known to wish for of old: and what he will endeavour to promote to the best of his power. If the queen will only consent to grant toleration, and to restore the Spanish places now in her possession, he will answer that no demand shall be made for reparation of other injuries, &c. and that peace may thus be restored to the Christian world, "whereof," he adds, "if I might by any office "of my life or death be a promoter or procurer, I would reckon "the remanent of my few years yet to come, more fortunate "than the many evil and long years of my life past," &c. Ibid. 146. Part of it is in the Biographia Britannica, Art. Allen.

NOTE [C C], Page 355.

I shall here add a few particulars respecting this noble person. —His speech to the lieutenant of the Tower, who visited him a few days before his death, will be read with pleasure. On the appearance of that officer he addressed him thus: "Mr. Lieu-"tenant, you have shew'd both to me and my men very hard "measure." "Wherin, my lord?" quoth he. "Nay," said the earl, "I will not make a recapitulation of any thing, for it is "all freely forgiven. Only I am to say unto you a few words of

" my last will, which being observed, may, by the grace of God, " turn much to your benefit and reputation. I speak not for my- " self, for God of his goodness has taken order that I shall be " delivered very shortly out of your charge; only for others I " speak, who may be committed to this place. You must think, " Mr. Lieutenant, that when a prisoner comes hither to this " Tower, that he bringeth sorrow with him. Oh, then, do not add " affliction to affliction: there is no man whatsoever that thinketh " himself to stand surest, but may fall. It is a very inhuman " part to tread on him, whom misfortune hath cast down. " The man that is void of mercy, God hath in great detestation. " Your commission is only to keep with safety, not to kill with " severity. Remember, good Mr. Lieutenant, that God, who " with his finger turneth the unstable wheel of this variable " world, can in the revolution of a few days bring you to be a " prisoner also, and to be kept in the same place, where you " now keep others. There is no calamity that men are subject " unto, but you may also taste as well as any other man. Fare- " well, Mr. Lieutenant: for the time of my smal abode here " come to me whenever you please, and you shall be heartily " wellcome as my friend." MS. life of Philippe Howarde.

His interment in the Tower was conducted with a due regard to economy. His coffin cost the queen 10*s*. the black cloth which covered it 30*s*. As he was a catholic, the chaplain deemed it a profanation to read the established service over the grave: and therefore began thus: " We are not come to honour this " man's religion; we publickely professe, and here openlie pro- " teste, otherwyse to be saved; nor to honour his offence, the " lawe hath judged him, wee leave him to the Lord. He is gone " to his place. Thus we find it true, that is sette downe in our " owne booke, 'Man that is born of a woman,' &c. Thus God " hath laid this man's honour in the dust. Yet as it is said in " the scriptures, 'Go, and bury yonder woman, for she is a king's " 'daughter,' so we commit his bodie to the earth, yet giving " God hearty thanks that hath delyvered us of so greate a feare.

" And thus let us praise God with the song of Deborah." This was followed by the forty-ninth Psalm, and the service was concluded with a prayer composed for the occasion. " Oh! Almighty " God! who art the judge of all the world, the lord of lyfe and " death, who alone hast the keys of the grave, who shuttest and " no man openeth it, who openest and no man can shut, wee " give thee hearty thanks, for that it hath pleased thee in thy " mercy to us, to take this man out of this world; wee leave " him to thy majesty, knowing by thy worde, that hee and all " other shall reyse again to give an account of all that has been " done in the fleshe, be it good or evyll, against God or man." Dallaway's Western Sussex, ii. 145. MSS. Lansdowne, vol. 79. No. 34.

Note [D D], Page 358.

That the reader may form a notion of the manner in which the catholic gentlemen were treated during this reign, I have collected the following brief account of the fines paid, and the privations suffered by one of the first recusants convict, Edward Sulyard, esq. of Wetherden, in the county of Suffolk. I have collected it from his papers, which have been preserved in the family, and are in the possession of lady Jerningham.

In 1586, the queen finding that many of the recusants were unable to pay the full amount of the fines, to which they were liable by statute, consented to grant them some indulgence, on condition that they should pay an annual composition. By Mr. Sulyard, 40*l*. per annum was offered. I know not what sum was accepted: but he received permission to remain at his own house, under a protection from secretary Walsingham, forbidding him to be molested, " he having bene a long tyme restrayned of " his libertie for matter of religion."

It appears that the fines due from him to the queen, " eo quod " ipse non adivit, Anglice, did not repair, ad aliquam ecclesiam, " capellam sive locum usualem communis precationis per spatium

"69 mensiam," amounted to 1380*l.* of which he had paid only 540*l.* For the payment of the remaining 840*l.* within the space of three years, he found two sureties, Thomas Tyrrel and Edward Sulyard of Fenning, esqrs.

On the approach of the armada he was thrown into prison, together with other recusants; but having, in November 1588, subscribed a declaration, that the queen was his lawful sovereign notwithstanding any excommunication whatsoever, and that he would be always ready to defend her with his life and goods against the force of any prince, pope, potentate, prelate, or whatsoever other her enemy, he obtained leave to go to his estate, for the purpose of raising money, but on condition that he should repair to London against the 10th of March, and be confined in a private house. He obeyed, and was bound in a penalty of 2000*l.* not to depart out of the house, or the appurtenances thereof.

In October 1591 he obtained the liberty of walking out, having first bound himself under the same penalty, 1°. not to go beyond the sea, or more than six miles from the place of his confinement; and, 2°. to present himself before the council, within ten days, whenever notice should be left for that purpose at the house aforesaid, "until he should have conformed "and yielded himself unto the order for religion, and for coming "and resorting to divine service established by act of parliament."

In 1594, on a rumour of invasion, he was confined with other recusants in the castle of Ely. In autumn, leave was given him to go to his own house for fourteen days; and afterwards to choose the house of some friend, where he might be confined under the usual restrictions, and penalties.

In 1595 he procured the indulgence of having his own house for his prison: and in 1598 was permitted to leave it for the space of six weeks.

In 1599, on another rumour of invasion, he was again confined in the castle of Ely: but, as soon as the danger was over,

he returned to his own house, having first paid the expences of his imprisonment in Ely. The next year he obtained another leave of absence for six weeks.

During this time, besides the composition to the queen, he was occasionally compelled by privy seals to lend money which was never repaid; occasionally to find a trooper fully equipped for the queen's service; and often to appear in person before the council or the archbishop.

Such was the harassing and degrading life, which not only Mr. Sulyard, but every gentleman, known to be a catholic, was compelled to lead for the sole offence of not conforming to a worship, which was contrary to his conscience: but, if in addition he presumed to practise his own religion, if he heard mass, or received a priest into his house, he was subject to more rigorous fines, to forfeiture, to imprisonment for life, or to death, as in cases of high treason, according to the nature of the offence, and the statute under which he might be indicted.

NOTE [EE], Page 361.

On the 18th of October, 1591, the queen issued a proclamation, distinguished by the violence of its language, against the king of Spain, the pope, and the missionaries, ordering all householders to make returns of every person who had resorted to their houses during the last twelve months, and to specify, whether they knew any one who was accustomed to absent himself from the established service. To the proclamation were appended instructions for certain commissioners, appointed in each county to receive these returns, and to discover, by all the means in their power, missionaries or persons withdrawn from their allegiance by the arts of the missionaries.

There was much to reprehend in the scurrilous language of this instrument: and several passages in it appeared to call for an answer from the leaders of the Spanish party among the

exiles. Two were soon published: one by Persons under the title of Responsio ad edictum, for an accurate account of which I shall refer the reader to Mr. Butler's Memoirs, iii. 236: and another by F. Cresswell, intituled Exemplar literarum missarum è Germania ad D. Gulielmum Cecilium, consiliarium regium. Impressum Anno Domini MDXCIJ.

In this tract the writer describes the persecution, which the English catholics suffered: and asserts that the author of the proclamation, in order to justify such barbarities, had recourse to calumny like the Pagans of old. He enumerates the offences of Elizabeth; her ingratitude to the king of Spain, to whom she was formerly indebted for her life; the murder of the queen of Scots; her connections with the rebels of other monarchs, and her friendship with the Turk. To her character he opposes the praise of Philip, his royal virtues, the use he makes of his power, his affection for the English exiles, and his labour to preserve the catholic religion in England by the foundation of seminaries. The author next maintains the right of the pope to employ the arms of catholic princes, and to depose apostate sovereigns, for the benefit of religion; and contends, that if he appointed Allen his legate, and ordered certain priests to attend the invading army under the duke of Parma, it was not to promote the destruction but the salvation of the country, to diminish the horrors of war, and to protect Englishmen from the swords of the invaders. He boasts of the superior force of the Spanish king, and maintains that in the time of danger Elizabeth and her ministers will find, that she possesses not the affection of the nation, and that her own soldiers will turn their arms against her.

It is difficult to speak of these tracts with the severity which they deserve. They might please the king of Spain, might uphold his hope of affecting the conquest of England, but they were calculated to irritate Elizabeth, to throw suspicion on the loyalty of the catholics, and to increase the pressure of persecution. The real motive of the authors may perhaps be discovered from the conclusion of each tract. They seem to have

believed that the queen was alarmed, and they hoped, by adding to that alarm, to extort her assent to the following proposals: that she should make peace with Philip, should tolerate the exercise of the catholic worship, and should allow all men, without distinction of religion, to partake of the favours and protection of government. See Responsio, p. 247. Exemplar literarum, 179.

NOTE [F F], Page 384.

I have seen many of these prints, and among them one calculated to excite feelings of the strongest abhorrence. It represents the execution of Margaret Middleton, the wife of Clitheroe, a rich citizen of York, who, for standing mute, suffered the peine forte et dure. She had harboured a priest in quality of a schoolmaster: and at the bar refused to plead guilty, because she knew that no sufficient proof could be brought against her, or not guilty, because she deemed such a plea equivalent to a falsehood.

As this barbarous mode of punishment is now grown obsolete, I shall describe her death in the words of one who was present in York at the time.

"The place of execution was the tolboth, six or seven yards "from the prison. After she had prayed, Fawcet (one of the "sheriffs) commanded them to put off her apparel; when she, "with the four women, requested him on their knees, that, for "the honour of womanhood, this might be dispensed with. But "they would not grant it. Then she requested them, that the "women might unapparel her, and that they would turne their "faces from her during that time.

"The women took off her clothes, and put upon her the long "linen habit. Then very quietly she laied her down upon the "ground, her face covered with a handkerchief, and most part of "her body with the habit. The dore was laid upon her: her "hands she joined towards her face. Then the sheriff saied, "Naie, ye must have your hands bound. Then two serjeants

" parted her hands, and bound them to two posts. (In the print " her feet are bound to two others.) After this they laied weight " upon her, which, when she first felt, she said Jesu, Jesu, Jesu, " have mercye upon mee: which were the last words she was " heard to speake. She was in dying about one quarter of an " hower. A sharp stone, as much as a man's fist, had been put " under her back: upon her was laied to the quantitie of seven " or eight hundred weight, which, breaking her ribbs, caused " them to burst forth of the skinne." March 25, 1586.

NOTE [G G], Page 418.

If Titus Oates had never existed, the history of this ridiculous plot would suffice to shew, how easily the most absurd fictions obtain credit, when the public mind is under the influence of religious prejudice. The poison, it was said, was contained in a double bladder, which Squires was to prick with a pin, and then to press on the pommel of the saddle. The queen would undoubtedly touch it with her hand, and afterwards move her hand to her mouth or nose. In either case death must ensue; as the poison was of so subtle and penetrating a nature, that it would instantly reach either her lungs or stomach.

To the account published by the government, Walpole himself opposed another in a pamphlet entitled, " The discoverie " and confutation of a tragical fiction devysed and played by " Ed. Squyer, yeoman, soldiar, hanged at Tyburne the 23d of " Nov. 1598.—Written for the only love and zeal of truth against " forgerie, by M. A. priest, that knew and dealt with Squyer in " Spaine. MDXCIX."

Both agree that Squires was a soldier under Drake, taken prisoner in the West Indies, and carried to Seville in Spain. There, by the government account, Walpole caused him to be put into the inquisition, then prevailed on him to become a catholic, and, having sworn him to kill the queen, procured him and one Rolles to be exchanged for two Spanish prisoners from England. The

poison of course failed; but how came the attempt to be discovered? This is the most clumsy part of the story. Walpole, finding that the queen was still alive, through revenge for the supposed infidelity of Squires, sent Stanley from Spain to reveal his guilt to the council!

According to Walpole, Squires, for his misconduct at Seville, was condemned to two years imprisonment in a convent of Carmelite friars: there, hoping to shorten the term of his punishment, he sent for Walpole, and pretended to become a catholic; but finding this expedient of no avail, he broke out of his prison, reached St. Lucar, and got on board of a ship about to sail for England. Walpole solemnly asserts that he never gave him any poison, nor ever spoke to him about the murder of the queen. He always suspected his sincerity, and on that account refused to give him a letter of recommendation to any English catholic. Indeed, so little was Walpole known either to Squires, or to Stanley, the pretended messenger, that neither of them could inform the council of his christian name. They were compelled to guess at it, and in the indictment and pleadings called him William instead of Richard. "This world," he concludes, "is now "growing over well acquainted with the tales of queen-killing, as "also that these bruites are inductions to the killing of such in- "nocent servants of God, as light into the hands and power of "the blood thirsty." P. 14. Dated Rome, 1st March 1599.

END OF VOL. VIII.

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